# Daily Report

# Soviet Union

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## Soviet Union

*FBIS-SOV-90-154* 9 August 1990

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## Karpov Discusses U.S. Article on Arms Talks

*LD0808151890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1115 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] [Correspondent Viktor Levin] We offer for your attention a conversation with Viktor Pavlovich Karpov, USSR deputy foreign minister. Viktor Levin, diplomatic correspondent, is the presenter.

The article in THE WASHINGTON POST, which opines that the Geneva talks on reducing strategic offensive arms have practically ground to a halt, is the immediate reason behind this interview. Proceeding from this article, I asked Comrade Karpov to elucidate the essence of the matter. The first question I put to him during our conversation went like this: To what extent does THE WASHINGTON POST article correspond to reality, and how, indeed, are the Geneva talks going?

[Begin recording] [Karpov] I would say that the issues about which Geoffrey Smith writes are indeed being discussed at the Geneva negotiations. However, the interpretation is, of course, a matter for the author's own conscience. It is important to note the following: Time is indeed rapidly approaching the moment when the negotiations will have to reach an end and texts will have to be prepared for signing by the presidents of the USSR and the United States. There is less and less of that time remaining, and it has to be used effectively. From that point of view, we have serious complaints against the U.S. delegation at Geneva. It has to be said that they are working without taking account of what we regard as this time factor: slowly, vacillating, often citing their lack of instructions from Washington. Of course, that does not encourage progress.

As for the essence of the question, then yes, indeed, there are very serious questions connected with what I would call serious political problems. These are the questions of noncircumvention of the agreement, the deployment of strategic weapons on the territory of third countries, not only the territory of the USSR and the United States, but that of other countries too, and questions connected with verification. These questions are virtually the heart of what an accord will have to be reached on before we move on to the text of the treaty.

As far as the noncircumvention of the treaty is concerned, we cannot allow a situation where the United States has an unlimited right to let anyone have its strategic arms.

[Levin] But do they have such a wish?

[Karpov] It may well be that they have no such wish. But as for renouncing, in writing, the existing agreement with Britain on cooperation in the field of strategic arms, here the United States is not yet ready to do this. We understand that the question concerning certain elements of cooperation with Britain in the field of strategic arms has been shaped by history and goes back as far as the time of the war, when the British let the Americans have all their secrets in the field of making an atomic bomb, and the British regard themselves as joint creators of U.S. nuclear arms. Cooperation has been continuing ever since that time. The cooperation between the United States and Britain now has the form whereby the Trident missile systems get handed over to the British. To begin with, these were the Trident-1 systems. Now, in the nineties, the Trident-2 system is in the offing. We do understand that it is, in general, surely impossible to tear up this agreement which has been concluded; and we are ready to take this element into account. However, we must have clear guarantees that, apart from the Trident, the United States will not hand over any other strategic arms either to Britain or to anyone else.

For our part, we are ready to take upon ourselves identical obligations, either within a treaty or in connection with a treaty; therefore, the ball is now in the United States' court. However, this question is so serious that I cannot imagine the treaty being concluded if the United States fails to take upon itself appropriate obligations in this connection.

As for the questions of deploying strategic arms on the territory of the third countries, here, too, there are serious differences. Our view is that during the period of reducing strategic arms, the entire arsenal of strategic weapons, both on the territory of the United States and the Soviet Union and beyond the confines of their territories—if such weapons are deployed beyond the confines of these territories—should be open to verification. Subsequently, when the reduction process has come to an end—that is to say toward the end of the seven-year period during which the treaty is in force—strategic arms should be deployed only on the territories of the USSR and the United States. Well, as far as this question is concerned, there is no accord as yet here either, and the United States is dragging its feet, prevaricating, and the question is not for the time being being tackled.

[Levin] Does one have here in mind the United States' intention to deploy certain types of nuclear weapons on the territory of what is now the Federal Republic of Germany and what tomorrow will be the united Germany, if only in its western part?

[Karpov] Naturally we cannot rule out any developments of events if appropriate treaty guarantees fail to materialize. This is precisely why we are striving for such types of guarantees. The questions of verification are, of course, questions connected with making sure that both the United States and the Soviet Union are confident that all provisions of the treaty will be observed. It is within this context that it is important not only to create a system of verification, but it is also important to safeguard a system of eliminating weapons over and above the permitted ceilings and to safeguard verification over this, one which would ensure a situation in which it would be impossible—as is, for instance, proposed in the U.S. position—to simply stockpile missiles, subsequently to use them for any purposes, including, let us say, for testing the SDI system or for taking arms into

space. A decision of this kind naturally makes completely worthless the limitations and reductions which could be provided for in a strategic offensive arms treaty. That is why what we support is that it must be clearly stated that weapons above and beyond the permitted quantities will be destroyed in accordance with procedures agreed upon and subject to strict verification. Some proportion of missiles, a very limited proportion, one that has been agreed upon and one that has undergone modifications, can be used to put peaceful cargo into space, but certainly not weapons. This we can agree to. But, if the United States insists on using missiles removed by it from alert duty to test antimissile systems in space or for other purposes of militarizing space, then this will be a profanity.

[Levin] Viktor Pavlovich, please tell me, as far as I understand the speed with which things are moving in Geneva leaves something to be desired. Are there any hopes for speeding things up? Can the Soviet Government's decision to stop, from 1991, the production of ICBM's on rail flatcars serve as a factor for speeding things up?

[Karpov] We made this decision precisely because we wanted to make it easier to resolve the questions connected with these systems at the talks, the questions connected with verification, and so on. That is why we count on a positive response on the part of the United States after it studies this proposal. But the possibilities for speeding things up are, of course, connected with the solving of the questions I have already mentioned and with the solving of what I would call questions of technical nature, for this is what they are called. But these are essential questions, because they are connected with the procedures for eliminating the arms above and beyong the permitted numbers and with the procedures of carrying out verification. Here, there are very many questions each of which demands, I would say, an original solution. What is needed is not copying of the verification system agreed upon for the medium-range missiles treaty, but the working out of an effective and, at the same time, an original system for this treaty. After all, where the medium-range missiles treaty is concerned, there were just over 200 facilities subject to verification. Where the Strategic Offensive Arms Treaty is concerned, there will now be some 2,500 facilities subject to verification. You can imagine how many times the body of inspectors must be increased, as well as how much more it will cost to have the inspectors travel and be lodged, to make sure that they have the equipment they need and so on. In other words, the task is being made more complicated many times over. But is it really necessary to just mechanically increase the number of groups of inspectors and the number of inspections? Surely not. There are surely specific aspects within this treaty which make it possible to have a multitude of various methods of verification combined. This includes verification from space by satellites, verification by groups of inspectors, verification also with the aid of the appropriate technical instruments on the ground, done in such a way that it will be possible to effectively ensure the confidence of both sides that the treaty is being observed and, at the same time, that money is not poured down the drain just to increase tenfold the number of trips by inspectors, trips that may turn out to be redundant altogether.

[Levin] Viktor Pavlovich, please tell me whether you think it possible to still work out a treaty this year?

[Karpov] This is what I would say: That, all the same, a possibility like this exists. But very vigorous efforts are needed for this. And this was discussed in Irkutsk during the meeting between the USSR foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state. Certain additional measures were adopted to speed up the discussion of the issues and to bring to the fore the most complex problems requiring solution now. This is so that it may be possible, during subsequent meetings between the ministers, to have these issues resolved and, finally, to sum up the results and dot all the i's during their meeting before the meeting of the presidents. This is the task that has been set. Let us now try to resolve it through, of course, joint efforts, that is how it must be done.

[Levin] I have no doubts that the Soviet side's intentions are sincere. Can the same be said about the U.S. side?

[Karpov] I think that, as the English put it, the proof of the pudding is in the eating. During the course of the talks, during the additional contacts and meetings between the ministers we, too, will surely be able to convince ourselves at long last of whether or not the U.S. side is indeed ready to have the treaty ready for signing this year.

[Levin] In your view, when will this be clear enough for one to be able to draw definite conclusions?

[Karpov] If the presidents' meeting for the signing of this treaty is planned for the end of this year, say in December, then around the end of October the treaty should be ready in rough outline. This is because very tedious but also very important and necessary work is needed to have the text edited to ensure that all its provisions are in keeping with one another. I think a month, or maybe a month and one-half is needed for this work.

[Levin] Thank you very much. [end recording]

### Continuing Significance of ABM Treaty Argued

*LD0908100490 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 First Edition p 3*

[Article by Major General V. Kuklev: "Not a Fortuitous Question: Strategic Offensive Arms Reduction and the ABM Treaty"]

[Text] The recent Washington summit meeting between the Soviet and American presidents marked an important stage toward concluding fundamental treaties in the sphere of reducing and limiting armed forces and armaments. The joint statement on the strategic offensive

arms treaty issued during the course of it indicates the solution of the most complex problems, which had been the subject of disagreements between the sides, and the possibility of preparing this treaty for signing before the year is out.

The sides' attitude to compliance of the 1972 ABM Treaty is the key issue in determining the entry into force of the treaty on strategic offensive armaments. The Soviet side has proceeded from and continues to proceed from the premise that the treaty on reducing and limiting strategic offensive arms may operate only in conditions where the ABM Treaty is observed in the form in which it was signed in 1972.

So what is the problem here? Are we not placing artificial obstacles in the way of one of the most significant agreements aimed at substantially reducing Soviet and American strategic arsenals?

The question of the interconnection between reducing strategic offensive arms and limiting ABM systems was examined by both sides as early as the SALT I talks and its agreed solution was enshrined in the 1972 Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Limitation of Antiballistic Missile Systems. The preamble to the treaty reads: "...effective measures to limit antiballistic missile systems would be a substantial factor in curbing the race in strategic offensive arms and would lead to a decrease in the risk of outbreak of war involving nuclear weapons." The deployment of ABM systems for defense of the territory of the country and the creation of a base for such a defense are not allowed under the basic articles of the treaty. Other limitations are also stipulated, in particular, the creation, testing, and deployment of ABM systems or components thereof which are sea-based, air-based, space-based, or mobile land-based are banned.

By signing the unlimited-duration ABM Treaty, the United States and the USSR acknowledged that the sides' voluntary renunciation of the possession of large-scale ABM systems is a very important condition for maintaining strategic stability, decreasing the strategic arms race, and reducing the risk of the outbreak of nuclear war. Here, the following factors were taken into account:

First, both sides came at that time to the general conclusion that if one of them deployed an ABM system the potential of the other side to deliver a counterstrike was thereby reduced. This would force it to take measures to restore the effectiveness of its own strategic offensive systems, for which purpose it could follow the path of additionally building up strategic offensive arms or creating and deploying its own ABM system, or employ both approaches. As a result there would be a strategic arms race inspired in two direction simultaneously—offensive and defensive—with all the ensuing adverse consequences.

Second, both rightly considered that the deployment of a large-scale ABM system could induce in the side which had already carried out the said deployment a sense of confidence in its invulnerability to a counterstrike and as a result the temptation to use strategic offensive systems against the other side—that is to say, to carry out a first nuclear missile strike against it.

Mindful of these considerations and of the fact that neither the USSR nor the United States had yet deployed a large-scale ABM system to defend the territory of the country, the sides availed themselves of the historic opportunity and concluded the ABM Treaty, thereby creating a basis for limiting and reducing strategic offensive arms.

However, the United States later moved away from recognition of the organic interconnection between strategic offensive and defensive arms. They began implementing the SDI program, the ultimate objective of the work in this sphere being to create an ABM system for the country's territory with space-based elements, and proposed in this regard that the ABM Treaty be replaced with a new agreement geared toward creating and deploying large-scale ABM systems. In an attempt to justify its departure from previously agreed principles, the American side now claims that the joint transition by the USSR and the United States to a regime of strategic relations "with greater reliance upon defense" is useful, that ABM systems are "weapons against the warheads of strategic ballistic missiles rather than people," and so forth.

Unbiased analysis, however, shows that the mutual understandings developed by the sides in 1972 regarding the role of the ABM Treaty in curbing the arms race and strengthening strategic stability also hold true today. In fact, they are becoming increasingly relevant.

The main "theoretical" thesis of the advocates of large-scale ABM systems in the United States nowadays is that the parallel creation and deployment of such systems will not lead to the problem of an arms race because both sides will possess ABM systems. Moreover, the deployment of ABM systems will allegedly devalue strategic missle armaments and render them useless. The mistaken nature of such views becomes obvious once you bear in mind that even with the parallel creation and deployment of large-scale ABM systems, because of the practical impossibility of reliably assessing and comparing the effectiveness of such systems, objective incentives for both sides to build up their strategic potential persist. The point is that differences in the effectiveness of ABM systems, even insignificant ones, lead to a substantial upsetting of the strategic balance. To avoid emerging the loser, each side will seek to enhance its strategic potential by quantitatively building up and qualitatively improving both its defensive and offensive systems. Such a situation does not and cannot create a basis for further cuts in strategic offensive arms.

There also persists the danger that one side, in developing its ABM system, will come to believe in its "impunity" if it delivers a first strike. Moreover, with

both sides deploying large-scale ABM systems the situation becomes extremely unstable, as the side launching a preemptive strike obtains an advantage. Yet it is obvious that strategic balance and stability and the certainty of achieving them which the sides need can be assured without vast expenditure of material and intellectual resources on ABM systems, and in a simpler and more reliable way, by carefully regulated strategic offensive arms cuts.

Thus the question of ABM Treaty compliance is not being raised by us at the Geneva talks fortuitously. I would remind you that back in September of last year the Soviet side, in an endeavor to prevent any hampering of preparation of the treaty on limiting and reducing strategic offensive arms, stated its readiness to sign and ratify this treaty even if an accord on the ABM problem is not achieved by the time the drafting of the treaty by the sides was completed, but the sides would continue to observe the ABM Treaty in the form in which it was signed in 1972. This Soviet decison has opened up the way to the signing of a treaty on strategic offensive arms.

At the same time the ABM Treaty retains its significance as the basis for the maintenance of strategic stability and as a condition for the implentation of accords on reducing strategic offensive arms. And if one of the sides were to breach the ABM Treaty this could threaten the other side's supreme interests and entitle it to withdraw from the treaty on strategic offensive arms. The retention and strengthening of the ABM Treaty is in the objective interests of the USSR, the United States, and the whole of mankind and creates the necessary basis in international law for subsequent steps to reduce armaments and strengthen strategic stability.

### UN Council To Discuss 'Annexation' of Kuwait

*LD0908001190 Moscow TASS in English 2332 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Mikhail Kochetkov]

[Text] United Nations August 9 TASS—Gulf countries have called for an immediate meeting of the United Nations Security Council to discuss Iraq's annexation of Kuwait, a Kuwaiti United Nations mission spokesperson said on Wednesday.

The Security Council said it will hold consultations at its New York headquarters within an hour.

Diplomats from several Arab states have begun drafting a Security Council resolution denouncing the annexation of Kuwait as illegal.

### WFTU Denounces Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait

*LD0908035290 Moscow TASS in English 2302 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Igor Shamshin]

[Text] Prague August 9 TASS—The World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) denounced on Wednesday the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, saying it violated the United Nations Charter and threatened international peace.

The WFTU called on Iraq to withdraw its troops from Kuwait and begin talks with Kuwait on a peaceful settlement, according to a message by the WFTU leader to UN chief Javier Perez de Cuellar.

### Karpov, UN Official Discuss Conversion Meeting

*LD0808032190 Moscow TASS in English 2333 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovsky on Tuesday met Yasushi Akashi (Japan), United Nations undersecretary-general.

They considered the development of multilateral cooperation in the field of security and disarmament and pointed out the great importance of the forthcoming UN-sponsored international conference in Moscow on conversion.

On the same day Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Karpov received Akashi at the latter's request.

They had a detailed exchange of views on disarmament issues and the UN role in this field. Special attention was devoted to defence industry conversion subjects in the light of the forthcoming UN-sponsored international conference "Conversion: Economic Changes in the Age of Arms Reductions," to be held in Moscow on August 13-17.

### EC Attitudes Toward Economic Cooperation Viewed

*PM0808142590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5*

[Report by V. Peresada: "The EC Agrees... But With Conditions"]

[Text] Brussels, 5 Aug—What are the prospects for cooperation between the EC and the East European countries? This question has been discussed for several months in the EC headquarters here. But whereas many details still have to be discussed, the basics are already clear: After the creation of a single internal market of the 12 West European states in 1992, this cooperation will take on unprecedented dimensions.

According to the latest reports, it was decided that so-called "European agreements" will be reached with the majority of East European countries. This principally concerns what were previously called "association agreements." However, a new term was specially chosen so that its politicized tint could paint future cooperation in the colors of "Great Europe."

It has been envisaged that particularly close multilateral ties will be established between the EC and East European countries, including free trade and broad political dialogue. The agreements also determine the institutional basis of their relations, which will also mean that it will be possible to jointly draw up decisions and carry out consultations.

East European countries' participation in such agreements is dependent on a number of conditions of a political and economic nature. They include holding free democratic elections, observing the principle of the multiparty system, and respecting human rights, as well as the liberalization of the economy and its rapid advancement to a market mechanism. Talks on signing the agreement have been scheduled to begin next year. First on the list of "candidates" are Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, then here it is believed that it will be very complicated to establish associative contacts with our country because of the Soviet economy's colossal dimensions. Therefore, the USSR will not participate in the "European agreements" system, at least not during the first phase. It is being proposed that relations with us be built and developed on the basis of the Agreement on Trade and Commercial and Economic Cooperation which was signed six months ago. Incidentally, this document is the most important of all the documents ever concluded between the EC and an individual country.

In the past few days, the Commission of the European Communities submitted three draft directives that envisage the beginning of cooperation between the European Atomic Energy Community and the USSR in the sphere of nuclear power engineering, including ensuring the safety of nuclear electric power stations. A total of 7 million ECU's [European currency units] is being allocated to implement the program of cooperation. This is

gratifying testimony to the fact that the EC wants to put the agreements with the USSR into practice .

### ICO Appeals for Resettlement of Soviet Jews

*PM0808120790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Report under the "TASS, REUTER, UPI, AFP Reports" rubric: "Islamic States Appeal to USSR"]

[Text] The participants in the recently concluded Cairo meeting of the Islamic Conference Organization have appealed to the USSR to "demand guarantees from Israel that Soviet Jews will not be settled in the occupied Palestinian territories." The influx of Soviet Jews into Israel is seen as a threat to the implementation of peace efforts in the Near East.

### Irkutsk Meeting, Rarotonga Process Compared

*PM0808135990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 First Edition p 3*

[Article by A. Golts under the rubric "History: Dates and Reflections": "From Rarotonga to Irkutsk"]

[Text] The recent Soviet-U.S. meeting in Irkutsk and the session of the South Pacific Forum [SPF] held on the island of Rarotonga in August 1985.... At first sight, these events are not to be compared. In actual fact, in the one case the heads of the diplomatic departments of two great powers discussed the most pressing problems of world development while, in the other, the representatives of countries whose names are hardly known to every reader conferred.

And yet there is something in common. In both cases, security problems in the vast Pacific region were the focus of attention. I would remind you that it was in August 1985 that the 13 SPF countries approved the Rarotonga Treaty. In accordance with this document, the signatories renounced for ever the development, production, and acquisition of nuclear weapons, or siting of such weapons on their territory. The zone of application of the treaty in this vast region extends from the equator to the boundaries of Antarctica.

It was no accident that the treaty came to be drafted and approved. The Pacific peoples' knowledge of atomic weapons is not based on hearsay. The roar of nuclear test explosions has been heard on Pacific atolls since 1946. It was these explosions that turned Bikini atoll into a radioactive desert. It is here, on Mururoa atoll, that France carries out its tests.

That is why in the mid-eighties, when the escalation of military preparations in the Pacific reached its height, these states demonstrated that they do not intend to play the role of extras on the Pacific stage. They urged the nuclear countries to ratify the protocols to the Rarotonga Treaty, to pledge to observe its requirements, and to renounce nuclear tests in the Pacific. Washington refused to sign the protocols: The spirit of the treaty annoyed it; the treaty's example could prove infectious and thus dangerous to U.S. forward-based strategy. The treaty was ignored by France too, which, despite public protests, carries out nuclear tests to this day.

So the Rarotonga Treaty, despite all its positive potential, could have shared entirely the fate of other initiatives which have brought virtually no benefit. But then the era of new political thinking arrived. It is noteworthy that the approval of this treaty coincided with the USSR decision to start a moratorium on all nuclear tests. The USSR also supported the Pacific countries' initiative. Moscow viewed it as confirmation that there is a place for any state—large or small—among those who struggle against the nuclear danger.

Our country signed the protocols to the Rarotonga Treaty. They were soon signed by China, too. Incidentally, this was one of the first pieces of evidence that the USSR and the PRC hold similar views on a number of international problems.

Now, five years later, comes a time when the Rarotonga Treaty will cease to be merely a fine idea. The result of the Irkutsk meeting shows this convincingly.

It was stated after the meeting that, since the USSR and the United States no longer regard each other as military adversaries, this demands a fresh view on the security problems of Asia and the Pacific. Moreover, a decision was made to carry out consultations on military-political aspects of the situation in Asia. Of course, this is not yet a reduction of confrontation, but it is the first step toward strengthening security on a political rather than a strongarm basis. And that, after all, is precisely what the states which signed the Rarotonga Treaty five years ago were urging.

### Ties With South Africa, Israel, Korea Viewed

*PM0808114290 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 27 Jul-2 Aug 90 p 4*

[Article by Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the International Affairs and Foreign Economic Activities of the RSFSR: "Dealing With the 'Untouchables' Is the Way Forward"]

[Text] In any attempt to deideologise, one can continually discuss foreign policy's subordination to ideology, but it is much more difficult to get rid of it in the day-to-day practical work. New wine appears in old bottles imperceptibly.

Let us take a look at the development of relations with several countries which only a few years ago were considered almost unworthy of any contact with the Soviet Union, such as the rapidly developing East Asian "little dragons," Israel and South Africa.

During the years of perestroyka, the contrast between our "moral perfection" and their "absolute fall" has faded whereas our political and especially economic requirements made it increasingly more imperative for us to establish relations. And at long last this has become

reality. These relations vary from country to country in both form and scale but interesting results have been achieved everywhere.

Are our new relations with the former "untouchables" wholly positive? They certainly are and there is a need for development. Both in East Asia, the Middle East and Africa we have benefitted politically and economically by taking the path which leads to a more mature, balanced and universal diplomacy.

However, there have also been some anxious moments.

Specifically, we have rapidly swapped our exaggerated fears for exaggerated expectations. We now see our former enemies as keepers of enormous sums of surplus money, waiting to pour them into our market and boost our crisis-ridden economy.

Take South Korea. What do they want from us in Seoul? That we should quickly fill in all the blanks in the process of "full normalisation of politico-diplomatic relations."

I've mixed with many prominent South Koreans. They are tough people who promise much more than they are ready to give. With them there is a need for tough bargaining with no concessions in advance. Then they respect their partner and the real work begins.

I have been calling for the establishment and promotion of businesslike relations with Seoul and I still consider this line to be correct. But I think China is more successful in pursuing this process—Beijing promises less but gets more.

Some may say we shouldn't approach the problems of relations with other countries from narrow pragmatic and utilitarian positions. This is correct. We have been extending bilateral relations guided primarily by universal human approaches to world politics. However, they don't rule out but presuppose a search for mutual benefit. Access to our developing market today means serious advantages over rivals tomorrow. This is well understood by far-sighted politicians and businessmen. That is why we are following the path of universalism, ascending one step at a time and without undue haste.

There are many stages at which one could stop and look around. Take the Russian and in general the republican dimension of our relations with the above countries. This dimension opens up many opportunities, leaving the incentives for further efforts to our partners.

In the 1920s, there were Union embassies in a number of countries whereas consultates were run on a republican basis. Why shouldn't think about republican consuls "in some kingdoms, in some states" in which we have no embassy? It is much more useful to think and consider things rationally than to dream and cherish vain hopes. I am sure this old maxim is not at variance with the new political thinking.

## Egon Bahr on Future of NATO, Germany

*PM0808143190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

["IZVESTIYA Interview" in Moscow with Prof. Egon Bahr, FRG social democratic politician, by S. Guk; date not given: "Egon Bahr: NATO's Seeming Triumph Will Be the Beginning of Its End"—first three paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] Professor Egon Bahr, a prominent Social Democratic politician from the FRG who is undoubtedly known to the readers, has been in Moscow. E. Bahr is an acknowledged world expert on disarmament and one of the creators of the "Ostpolitik" of the late sixties and early seventies, without which the new aspect of today's Europe, which has shaken off the trammels of the cold war, would have been inconceivable.

Throughout postwar history peace has never been stronger than it is today, E. Bahr declared at a meeting at the USSR Academy of Sciences Europe Institute. The epoch of reliance on military force is receding into the past, NATO and the Warsaw Pact have no future, and they will be replaced by all-European security structures.

At the end of the meeting Egon Bahr answered IZVESTIYA's questions concerning the future of the united Germany and Europe.

[Guk] Mr. Professor, you have said that you yourself were surprised how easily the Soviet Union gave its consent to Germany's unification and its NATO membership, while demanding nothing for itself in exchange. On what compensation, in your view, should the Kremlin have insisted? What opportunities did Moscow miss, and which of its interests did it forgo?

[Bahr] I believe that the USSR president knows better than others what is good for his country. And Gorbachev has forgone none of the USSR's security interests, for after Germany's unification it will have no less security than before. I believe that in the long term such a policy will bring success. For the moment of NATO's seeming triumph will be the beginning of its end. Because NATO no longer has an enemy. Because the threat that hung over us for decades has vanished. In the long term NATO will be unnecessary. The people from NATO themselves do not yet see this, do not wish to recognize it, and are trying to find a new threat, but these feeble attempts are ridiculous.

All this means that we have all taken a big step on the path of creating a new European security structure. I only regret that we have not synchronized all this or said that during the period of restoring German unity we will also create a European security system, having disbanded both blocs. But the goal itself is correct and will remain so, only we will now have to realize it stage by stage and not in parallel.

I believe that today we have removed the biggest problem which has burdened relations between our peoples. I mean the partition of Germany. I no longer see any obstacles in

the way of developing the USSR's cooperation with Germany in the interests of each of the sides. Ideally this will happen within the framework of such integration as exists in West Europe today. A great, promising goal. As a German, I have an interest in seeing matters in the USSR proceed as well and as dynamically as possible.

[Guk] To all appearances, no one in Europe any longer has any objections to Germany's unification. Nevertheless, certain fears about the great future power exist both in the East and in the West. How justified are they?

[Bahr] I can imagine that, looking back at the past—the Germans have caused enough trouble—people will exclaim: There they go again! I consider the fears absolutely groundless. Let us at last be realists. The USSR is a huge country, a military superpower, but is weak economically. The FRG is a small country, has no nuclear weapons, and is weak militarily but strong economically. In the military respect it is tied to the NATO framework. We are incapable of waging war. The USSR has nuclear weapons, while we do not. And even economically we are tied to the EEC framework. This means that we cannot abuse economic might for nationalist purposes. What made Germany dangerous in the past has now disappeared.

[Guk] What precisely?

[Bahr] Nationalism, the possibility of adopting independent decisions to unleash war, and the strength to wage war. All that is in the past.

[Guk] But NATO membership did not stop Greece and Turkey from waging war against each other....

[Bahr] First, that was not a war....

[Guk] OK, let's call it a military conflict.

[Bahr] Second, Turkey and Greece have preserved their national armies, while we do not have one in the full sense of the word, nor a general staff. We are fully integrated and are under the control of the NATO Command, which is still preserved for the time being.

[Guk] And how reliable is this control?

[Bahr] The USSR is totally secure, and NATO integration as an instrument of control is so good that for the future all-European security system I would suggest copying the political structures of NATO, not those of the Warsaw Pact, which cannot guarantee control. I repeat, I am convinced of the reliability of the NATO structures.

[Guk] Fully convinced?

[Bahr] In a conflict situation neither the defense minister nor the federal chancellor himself has the right to issue orders. All orders and all lines of communication are concentrated in NATO's hands, mainly the Americans' hands. A German general has at his disposal only a small number of troops, including foreign ones. The NATO border army corps, for example, may be compared with a string of pearls: Between the Germans stand Americans, Britons, Netherlanders, Belgians. The German Army does not exist in pure form. You must realize that.

[Guk] But all the countries you have named are not numbered among the USSR's friends, as it were.

[Bahr] I will add to what I have said that the development of our society and industry rules out any war, including those by conventional means. We have so many nuclear electric power stations, and we are very dependent on chemical enterprises. Within hours we would be paralyzed by two or three nuclear bombs and be thrust back to the epoch before World War I, when electricity was still only emerging. War is no longer possible. Incidentally, can you give me just one reason why we need war? What would we gain from it?

[Guk] Territories, for example, minerals, a free work force.

[Bahr] My God, we have enough of everything. We will not have things better than they are now, and do you want us to jeopardize all this? We aren't crazy. Look for yourself: The FRG was not burning with impatience to unite without delay. It was not us but the GDR's inhabitants who pushed Germany toward unification, which will now cost us dearly. I cannot see what could prompt the Germans to declare: We want to have still more. Second, when you say that the British or French do not feel a special friendship for the USSR, I disagree with you. At any rate, I am convinced of one thing: They do not want Germany to get bigger. This is perfectly true. So abandon your fears.

[Guk] Willy Brandt, Walter Scheel, and you personally were the creators of the new "Ostpolitik," the detente of the seventies. Without all that the unification of Germany would be impossible today. However, the fruits of that policy are now being reaped by others—the Christian Democratic Union and Christian Social Union, for example, which voted against the eastern treaties during those years. Are you not offended?

[Bahr] I will say perfectly honestly: It grieves me. It would have been better if I myself had done all this and—I will dare to hope—I would have done it better. But, at the same time, I am infinitely glad that the dream of the Germans is being realized.

[Guk] However, many Germans who have forgotten who initiated the matter and who are grateful to the present government parties will cast their votes primarily for them. Has the Social Democratic Party of Germany any chance in the all-Germany elections scheduled for December?

[Bahr] We will see. At any rate, I cannot at present see the principle of social justice being observed in the course of unification. Of course, unification entails burdens and lies like a financial and economic weight on the FRG population—which, in our opinion, could have been avoided. The elections will show how weighty this factor will prove.

## United States & Canada

### Cheney Reports U.S. Movements in Gulf 8 Aug

*LD0808220190 Moscow TASS in English 2148 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Washington August 9 TASS—The United States is prepared to thwart an Iraqi aggression and protect Saudi Arabia, Defence Secretary Richard Cheney told reporters in Washington on Wednesday.

During a press conference held jointly with General Colin Powell, chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, Cheney said seven U.S. naval vessels led by the flagship La Salle were in the Persian Gulf.

The carrier Independence was off [the] mouth of Gulf. The nuclear aircraft carrier Eisenhower went through [the] Suez Canal into the Red Sea.

[The] carrier Saratoga and [the] battleship Wisconsin were due near [the] Gulf in ten days, according to U.S. officials.

U.S. F-15 fighter planes have already taken up positions in Saudi Arabia, Power said.

The first units of a combat-ready brigade of U.S. troops arrived in Saudi Arabia on Wednesday, he said.

The United States is alarmed at the possibility of Iraq using chemical weapons. However, the U.S. troops are equipped with special protective suits to wear in the event Iraq uses poison gas, Powell said.

### U.S. Expert Views Space Cooperation Prospects

*PM0808114090 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 27 Jul-2 Aug 90 p 1*

[Interview with U.S. space scientist C. Faranetta, of the Princeton Space Studies Institute, by Vladimir Luskanov and Leonard Nikishin; place and date of interview not given: "U.S. Hitches Lift Into Space"—first two paragraphs are introduction]

[Text] The US may seek to hitch a ride aboard the Soviet space rocket Energy to the Moon and perhaps even to Mars. Chris Faranetta, a leading US space scientist who has just visited the Energy rocket would save the US 15 years of research.

Faranetta, from the Space Studies Institute in Princeton, visited the USSR together with Eric Laursen of Lockheed. Their visit was aimed at sounding out the possibility of launching an artificial satellite, Lunar Prospector, to study the natural resources of the Moon as well as Soviet views on long-term space co-operation between the two countries. MN [MOSCOW NEWS] spoke to Faranetta.

MN: Do you have concrete ideas about Soviet-US space cooperation.

Faranetta: In general, yes. In our Institute we are now studying the possibility of using the Soviet booster rocket, Energy, in a whole series of US space projects. Especially attractive is the prospect of using it for such projects as the creation of a base on the Moon, a manned expedition to Mars, and building space plants for producing various materials, including rocket fuel made from lunar rocks.

MN: Do you know that the Energy rocket is very expensive and that the intervals between launches are rather long? Would two to three launches a year suit you?

Faranetta: That is more than enough. We have looked into the economics of using the Energy rocket. It would be much cheaper than creating our own booster of a similar type. Even if one launch cost $50 million it would still be cheaper. We would also save time. Using the Energy means the USA would be ahead by some 15 years.

MN: What about the Cocom problems on the export of advanced technology and equipment to the USSR?

Faranetta: As trust grows the controls will be relaxed. We can start joint work on the Lunar Prospector project right now. I think this project will serve as a good start to strengthen mutual trust. In general, these problems are temporary. In the USA the private sector connected with space exploration will soon be developing at great speed. That will have a decisive influence on the rate of Soviet-US co-operation in this field. The Soviet space technology market is capable of giving a mighty acceleration to the US private space industry. You have excellent booster rockets of great interest to companies that wish to go in for space research. This will really open the US market to Soviet space technology.

MN: What were your impressions after the meeting with Yuriy Semenov, the chief designer?

Faranetta: Very positive. We talked about the possibility of concluding an agreement on the Lunar Prospector project and elaborating different ways of using Energy. But we have not yet come to a final conclusion.

MN: Could the programme for using Energy to launch US cargoes become a long-term project?

Faranetta: Of course. In the distant future, Energy could be used even to organise an expedition to Mars. And in the near future it would be needed by US companies to make orbital plants or produce special products. It could also be used for the implementation of the programme put forward by President Bush. In short, Soviet-US space co-operation has a colossal future. I have no doubts that very soon this field will become one of the major joint activities of the two countries.

## Northeast Asia

### ROK Ambassador Sees 'Progress' in Relations

*PM0808150690 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 31, 31 Jul-6 Aug 90, pp 22-24*

["Exchange of opinions" between Kong No-myong, head of the Consular Department of the Republic of Korea's Trade Mission in Moscow, and political scientist Georgiy Kunadze: "Cautious Progress"—first two paragraphs are an editorial introduction]

[Text] First contacts between Moscow and Seoul were established on an emphatically non-governmental basis two years ago. These contacts have blossomed since then bringing the two countries to the verge of full diplomatic relations.

The rapid progress in Soviet-South Korean relations evokes different assessments. Some Soviet specialists express concerns that we may be moving too fast, risking the loss of the initiative in our dialogue with Seoul. The South Korean side is often disappointed by the fact that, despite obvious successes, Moscow and Seoul have not yet established diplomatic relations in these conditons, a situation may take shape in which Moscow will consider each new move as maximally possible, and Seoul, as minimally acceptable. As a consequence, both sides may feel disappointed and relations may stalemate.

Ambassador Kong No-myong [title as published], head of the Consular Department of the Republic of Korea's Trade Mission in Moscow and political scientist Georgiy Kunadze, department head at the institute of World Economy and International Relations of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, exchange views on the motives which assist in the Soviet-South Korean rapprochement.

[Kong] New political thinking made it possible for Europe to turn from confrontation to cooperation. I believe we have every reason to expect similar favourable changes in the Asian-Pacific Region, the move so as President Gorbachev's speeches in Vladivostok (1986) and Krasnoyarsk (1988) opened new vistas for cooperation there. In my opinion, in these conditions, the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea have no grounds for avoiding a political dialogue aimed at a normalization in relations, provided, of course, the Soviet Union does not have any special criteria for approaching my country.

I am mildly upset by the fact that in its relations with the Republic of Korea the Soviet Union prefers to make small steps where one big step would have sufficed. I understand that by doing so, you are trying to pacify your old ally, North Korea, which has traditionally opposed Soviet-South Korean normalization. The well-known North Korean stance, however, does not seem to me a convincing argument for gradual progress to normalization. Referring to the Soviet foreign political experience, we see that the Soviet Union maintains relations with both German states.

North Korea insists that the diplomatic recognition of both Korean states by a third country will perpetuate the split of the nation. This viewpoint is invalid, I believe. The existence of parallel diplomatic relations with other countries did not prevent the two Yemens from uniting. Neither does it complicate German unification.

I would like to cite some statistics in this connection. By June, 1990, the Republic of Korea had diplomatic relations with 141 countries, 80 of which had diplomatic relations with North Korea. Thus, the Soviet Union will not be the only country to have official ties with both Korean states.

[Kunadze] Mr. Ambassador has presented convincing arguments why his government believes the progress to full diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea is too slow. I share his point of view.

In fact, we are moving ahead of schedule: in 1988, few people considered establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of Korea as a real and acceptable prospect. Today, on the contrary, we are all convinced that such a move is perfectly possible in the near future. This serious evoluton in public opinion is a result of perestroyka in the USSR. Orthodox opinions that the North Korean regime is ideologically closer to us and the South Korean one is ideologically alien, even hostile, are seldom heard now. Only yesterday Soviet conservatives insisted it was impossible to recognize the Republic of Korea because the "socialist" state of North Korea opposed such recognition. This approach belongs to the past.

The Soviet Union preserves friendly ties with North Korea. By the way, the Friendship Treaty with that country has been recently prolonged for another five years. According to the treaty the Soviet Union will assist North Korea in case it is the target of unprovoked aggression. But no treaty can restirct the rights of its signatories to have normal relations with third countries. In other words, the Soviet Union is free to recognize the Republic of Korea. Naturally, it is not a matter of "letting down a state that is close ideologically." Frankly speaking, despite the similarity in terms, North Korea's Stalinist socialism has little in common with the ideas of perestroyka.

It took us two years to realize all this. It could have taken us more time had the reforms not deepened at home, had totalitarian regimes not collapsed in Eastern Europe.

Today there is no question that we can recognize the Republic of Korea. Recognition is no longer a problem. Some people doubt whether we should recognize the Republic of Korea immediately. Hence calls that we are moving too fast. In this case, the logic is purely mecantile: Moscow needs South Korean loans, technology and goods; Seoul needs diplomatic relations. As a consequence, the Soviet Union should not recognize the Republic of Korea until it secures sufficient economic dividends for itself. In fact, "the mercantilists" call for trading diplomatic relations at the highest possible price. On June 9, IZVESTIYA published an article which said in particular. "We may send our ambassador to Seoul, and have nothing in return.... Again we are drifting

aimlessly, this time in South Korean affairs." Such verbal extremism is not what really matters, though.

The stubborn refusal to understand simple things is especially alarming. It seems obvious that diplomatic recognition and commercial and economic cooperation are different dimensions. The former is not an award, but a norm of civilized communication of sovereign states. This latter is the product of the balance of commercial interests and market relations. The article in the venerable newspaper IZVESTIYA said the South Korean economy was unable to engage in "financial charity" and did not have spare money to invest in the USSR in a gust of alturism. Should one understand that if South Korea had this spare money, recognition would be imperative, as the newspaper suggested?

Can economic ties be built on the hopes for charity and altruism of one's partner at all? Can we expecet Seoul to bind private capital to conclude unprofitable deals with Moscow in exchange for the Soviet diplomatic recognition? In a normal country with a free market, the government cannot order private business about and, consequently, intergovernment accords and commerce can only be linked with much caution.

We continue to hope to use our "political trump cards" as an instrument of trade. Naturally, like any other government, the government of South Korea can influence trade and economic exchange to a certain extent. Should we be surprised by the South Korean government's reluctance to encourage ties with the USSR? The South Korean government is not confident in the future of Soviet-South Koean relations and does not see how the two countries can conclude intergovernmental agreements, say, on the guarantees of investments or exemptions from double taxation in the absence of intergovernment relations. This may be an argument for speedier diplomatic recognition instead of using them as a carrot in front of the donkey's nose.

Very briefly put, the scheme linking Moscow's diplomatic recognition of Seoul with economic benefits for the Soviet Union appears banal and tactless. A different look at the problem seems to be much more reasonable. Undoubtedly, the Republic of Korea is a sovereign state which we have no reason to ignore. Moscow must not apply a double standard or any special criteria to its approach to Seoul.

Another argument in favour of immediate recognition of the Republic of Korea is that the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and South Korea will radically strengthen stabilty on the Korean Peninsula. The political logic behind this argument doe snot require any special explanation. Without stability, without civilized relations between Seoul and Pyongyang, all words about Korean unification will remain nothing but wishful thinking.

[Kong] North and South Korea started a dialogue in 1971, but this dialogue has not helped reduce military tensions between the two states or produced any serious results at all. That is why we hope that by developing relations with Moscow and Beijing, we may be able to make Pyongyang reassess its views and attitudes. Figuratively speaking, I would say we are trying to reach Pyongyang via Moscow and Beijing.

By no means do we want to isolate North Korea from its allies. On the contrary, we want to help North Korea become an active and responsible member of the world community of nations. We do not want either an arms race with North Korea or military preponderance over North Korea, President No Tae-u stressed at his San Francisco meeting with Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

I would like to make a special mention of the problem of arms reduction, peaceful coexistence and confidence-building measures. I believe, confidence-building measures can be linked simultaneously with peaceful coexistence and arms reduction. That is why we have made it a rule to inform North Korea in advance about the time and character of the Team Spirit military exercises, to invite North Korean observers to attend these exercises so that they can see the exercises are purely defensive in nature.

Unfortunately, North Korea has been regularly declining our invitations and often used the fact of exercises as a pretext for suspension of all contacts with us.

[Kunadze] I agree with you in the sense that relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea must not develop at North Korean expense. In fact, this is a commonly recognized norm of international law: no normal bilateral relations may be developed to the detriment of a third party. Otherwise, it is a conspiracy, not diplomatic relations. I believe that your government's understanding of this promotes its dialogue with the Soviet Union and other countries.

On the other hand, everything is intertwined in world politics. Any new development creates a new situation, making interested countries reassess their positions. Hope-inspiring shifts have recently appeared in the dialogue between the two Korean states. I do not insist that Soviet-South Korean normalization might have been instrumental in bringing about these shifts. It is a fact, however, that such shifts are happening now that our two countries are closed to the establishment of full diplomatic relations.

I would like to stress, though, that the dialogue between North and South Korea should be bilateral, without mediators. After all, it is up to the Koreans to choose the destiny of Korea.

As for North Korea's suspicious attitude towards the Team Spirit exercises, it is a demonstration of the existing mistrust between the two countries. Former North Korean Ambassador to Moscow, and later a political emigre. Yi Song-cho, who served as a Deputy Chief of the General Staff of the North Korean army during the Korean war, reminisced that the North

Korean invasion of the South had been prepared under the smokescreen of military exercises. Probably, North Korea suspects the South of a similar trick each time Team Spirit exercises begin.

[Kong] Let us return to the relations between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea. Naturally, I cannot agree with those who believe that the Republic of Korea is trying to use economic cooperation with the Soviet Union as bait to gain Moscow's diplomatic recognition. South Korea is a small country. Our GNP amounts to a mere $200 billion, which means $5,000 per capita. It would be naive to hope to buy the friendship of a great power like the Soviet Union, having so humble an economy.

On the other hand, the Soviet and South Korean economies are mutually complementary and that is why out ties are very promising. Some experts in the Soviet Union express doubts as to whether the USSR should be exporting raw materials. Honestly, I refuse to accept such arguments. Many industrial nations, including the United States and Canada, export raw materials on a large scale and believe this is perfectly normal. Raw materials should be processed one way or another in order to increase their cost. But if no processing is possible, this does not mean that trade must be halted altogether.

By the way, I see great prospects in economic cooperation between our countries too: for instance, combining Soviet fundamental research and high technologies with the South Korean experience of mass production, and South Korean investments in the Soviet economy. Some time will be needed, naturally, to realize these opportunities. Businessmen and economists know how much preliminary work must be done to accomplish any large-scale project. Additional legal guarantees will be needed too. Can a private company decide to invest a considerable sum in another country without adequate protection and support from its government?

It is sometimes pointed out that South Korean companies are investing in China despite the absence of formal diplomatic relations with that country. Few people seem to notice, however, that South Korean investments in China amount to no more than $20 million. The only thing to learn from this example is the negative effect of the absence of diplomatic ties on the development of South Korean-Chinese business cooperation. In fact, this is widely known.

The !ZVESTIYA correspondent seems to be inclined to accuse South Korean businessmen of insufficient activity. He gave a lengthy list of unrealized or disrupted deals, but does not try to analyze the reasons for failures. These reasons, however, are well-known both to us and our partners in the Soviet Union. However, let the businessmen speak about this. I would only mention that the group Hyundai is already participating in several wood industry, coal extraction and petrochemical industry projects. Hyundai's share in these projects is estimated at tens of millions of dollars. Samsung and other large companies are displaying interest too.

[Kunadze] I would like to sound optimistic, but I am afraid that South Korean-Soviet business ties may soon be dominated by the traditional pattern in which our ministries and departments wait passively for foreign partners' initiatives, because they are unable to decide what they need themselves. This tactic is best described by the formula "Tell us what we need," and has already been tested in our relations with other countries. Naturally, it is never successful, but makes our "businessmen" speculate on "passiveness" and the "lack of interest" of foreign partners.

[Kong] Summing up our conversation, I am inclined to think that the progress in Soviet-South Korean relations is unduly cautious. The Izvestiya correspondent acknowledged the necessity of developing these relations, but said "a cavalry attack" would not do. The reality, however, is a far cry from a "cavalry attack." Two years have elapsed since Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in Krasnoyarsk. Even in the Middle ages, Russian Cossacks would have reached Korea sooner.

[Kunadze] What you consider as pre-planned stages of the development of relations is in fact stages in the evolution of our mentality and new political thinking.

[Kong] Speaking on the prospects of Soviet-South Korean relations in San Francisco, Mikhail Gorbachev said the fruit must ripen. Developing the analogy, one can say that fruits ripen in autumn. It seems to me that this autumn can be the right time for our fruit to ripen and for the Soviet Union and the Republic of Korea to normalize bilateral relations.

### Youth Delegation Departs for South Korea

*SK0908003190 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] A delegation of youth of the Soviet coastal province today left Nakhodka for the ROK by ship. Boarding ships named Omandor, Belinger, Grenada, and Nakhodka, the Soviet youth living in the Far East left carrying a letter calling for establishing a sisterhood relationship between Pusan and Nakhodka.

The departure of the delegation in (?three) teams will serve as the beginning of a large-scale peace and loving project called "Pacific Action" which will develop civilian diplomacy and mutually-beneficial cooperation among the countries in the Asian-Pacific area.

### Japan's Military Buildup, Modernization Examined

*LD0808164790 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS news analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—The persistence with which representatives of the Japanese military establishment build the perverted image of the Soviet Union as their country's enemy is amazing.

Japanese Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff committee chairman Taizo Terashima made his contribution to this image at Tuesday's meeting of Japan's National Defence Council.

The Council discussed the drafting of a new programme to develop the country's Armed Forces, which will begin to be implemented in the fiscal year 1991. Terashima dwelt on the build-up of Soviet Armed Forces in the Far East.

Admitting that the USSR is reducing the size of its Armed Forces in a unilateral move it announced, Terashima argued that the Soviet Union took measures to modernise them and, consequently, build up their might, as if Japan and its ally—the United States—were not engaged in the same doings and in the same region.

Modernisation is a natural part of maintaining and equipping the Armed Forces of any country. As positive changes occur in the world, definite curbs, restraining this process within reasonable defence sufficiency will be required.

However, parties at the Soviet-U.S. talks in Geneva and at the multilateral talks on conventional Armed Forces in Europe have yet to approach this point. Arms reduction has not even started in Asia, not counting unilateral actions by the USSR and China.

However, the situation taking shape in the Asia-Pacific region calls more and more urgently for taking effective measures to difuse tension, lower the level of military confrontation, build up confidence and achieve disarmament.

At their recent meeting in Irkutsk, the Soviet and U.S. foreign ministers stated that the USSR and the United States no longer regarded each other as military adversaries in Europe or in Asia.

The statement calls for a new, fresh look at security in that region, for opening a bilateral and multilateral dialogue on specific military-political aspects of the situation.

Leaders of many Asian states are aware of this need. During his visit to Tokyo in July, Canadian Foreign Minister Joseph Clark advanced a proposal to create a security mechanism in northern Asia similar to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. This would allow countries in the region to meet, air their concerns and advance towards a more durable peace and stability.

At the enlarged meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) held previously, Australian Foreign Minister Gareth Evans put forward the same proposal.

In Japan, official circles think the proposal is premature. Tokyo would like to postpone its discussion until regional problems are resolved, although it is obvious that the availability of a mechanism for consultations would help settle regional conflicts.

At the same time, fears around the imaginary Soviet threat continue to be fuelled in Japan in a bid to justify Japan's own military preparations. The latter already sparked apprehensions in regional countries that Japan could turn into a military power.

Will Tokyo officials pay heed to their neighbours' apprehensions or will they leave Japan outside the detente process in Asia?

### Japanese Environmentalists Discuss Mutual Ties

*LD0708165590 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 7 TASS—USSR State Committee for Nature Chairman Nikolay Vorontsov on Monday met the delegation of Japanese parliamentarians led by S. Totsuka, a representative of the Environmental Protection Committee. They discussed the development of cooperation between the USSR and Japan in environmental protection.

The sides examined promising areas of cooperation, specifically, ecologically-clean power engineering, remote probing of the environment from Soviet satellites, [word indistinct] Japanese-made analytical equipment, exchange of flora and fauna gene funds in the Far Eastern region, and training of Soviet and Japanese scientific staff at Soviet nature preserves.

### Japanese Buddhist on Visit With Gorbachev

*90UF0404A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 31, 1 Aug 90 p 1*

[Report on interview with Daisaku Ikeda, leader of the Japanese Buddhist organization "Soka Gakkai International," by O. Prudkov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editor for international problems; date and place of interview not given: "'New Waves of Peace for the 21st Century'"]

[Text] **"New Waves of Peace for the 21st Century" is the title of one of the books by Daisaku Ikeda, a world famous public figure and leader of the Japanese Buddhist organization "Soka Gakkai International" (SGI), which operates in 115 countries. A struggle for peace and for the development of culture and education is the way this organization defines its goal, which is based on the Buddhist idea of charity and the inviolability of life.**

**Last week Daisaku Ikeda visited the Soviet Union and met with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev. After the meeting, O. Prudkov, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA editor for international problems, interviewed D. Ikeda.**

[Prudkov] Mr. Ikeda, in recent years you have traveled throughout the whole world and, perhaps, it would be difficult to name one political leader with whom you have not met. Your tireless activity in the name of peace and humanism has received universal recognition. I would like to hear your impressions of your dialogue with President Gorbachev, with whom you met for the first time.

[Ikeda] I perceive peace as not something that is abstract. It can be attained only through action. And in this respect, the role of direct contacts between people is great. I think that such events as the American-Soviet summit meetings and those that occur within the framework of people's diplomacy are a result of this logic. I met with President Gorbachev only as a private individual: We talked in a friendly atmosphere, and, putting it in his words, "as old friends." Gorbachev impressed me as a person who adheres to principles firmly and who has a flexible mentality and new ideas. If he were not flexible, he would not be suitable for the role of the leader undertaking as bold an experiment as perestroyka. I sensed that he was a person with a will for firm peace, and with a clear understanding of the current epoch, which is at an historically critical stage. He understands that mankind cannot be allowed to perish. This is a philosopher and political figure who is actively engaged.

[Prudkov] Could you tell us about the substance of the conversation with President Gorbachev?

[Ikeda] It is very difficult to set forth the substance of the conversation briefly. First, I would like to talk about the prospects of M.S. Gorbachev visiting Japan. He expressed a great desire to visit our country. A date has been set for this visit—spring of next year. I very much appreciate the fact that the president promised to acquaint me with the specific program of his visit to Japan.

Second, the problem of Soviet-Japanese relations was discussed broadly. By the will of fate, Japan and the USSR are neighbors. But our relations are not at the proper level: There is a lack of stability, and a certain constraint is felt. Stereotypes and the ultimatum like nature of proposals intrude. If offshoots of innovation appear anywhere, it is necessary to support and develop them as fast as possible. President Gorbachev believes that the establishment of broad contacts will help start a dialogue, and, therefore, one can arrive at the resolution of various problems. I warmly support this opinion.

Third, from the talk about perestroyka and its prospects, I clearly sensed the resoluteness of the president not to retreat from the chosen path. The goal of perestroyka is the creation of a free society focused on the individual. The new thinking—the basis of the changes that are occurring—is a branch of a tree named humanism. This also corresponds to our ideals.

Fourth, President Gorbachev emphasized that it is necessary to challenge the future resolutely, realizing the significance of young forces and the spirit of the times. Only that kind of a society can be called mature which will be able to educate the new generation. And I agree with this fully.

[Prudkov] This is your fifth visit to the Soviet Union. You can compare and contrast your impressions. What does our country look like to you today?

[Ikeda] I am pleasantly struck each time by your goodwill. When I walk on the streets and see the beautiful faces of the people, I once again feel with all my heart: "There it is—Moscow".... My visits are short, and therefore it is difficult for me to fully evaluate the scale of changes. But the flourishing of pluralism strikes the eye more than anything else. The people splendidly and openly express their personal opinions. President Gorbachev says that the people do not yet know how to use freedom. But, very likely, these are the "birth pangs" in the appearance of a new society in the world. Despite the numerous difficulties, glasnost and democratization, in my opinion, symbolize the bright future of our country.

[Prudkov] Perestroyka is experiencing serious difficulties. The entire process of strengthening peace depends on its success or defeat. How can Japan help perestroyka? What is the role of people's diplomacy?

[Ikeda] Actually, the success or defeat of perestroyka will have an important and decisive effect on the situation in the world. If Japan has the opportunity to help, then I would not skimp on any aid. Of course, I am speaking only as a private individual. But I think that in a short space of time, working closely with the Soviet side, it is necessary to develop a system of extensive cooperation, including not only the intellectual assistance proposed by the Japanese Government, but also economic assistance. If we talk about a more extended period of time, then it is necessary to expand the exchange in the sphere of culture and education even more. As President Gorbachev emphasized, it will be possible to resolve all questions, providing that there is a swift stream of friendly exchanges at whose basis lie the principles of universal human morals. It is for this reason that broad ties are being established, for example, in the exchange of students between Moscow University and the young University of Soka which I established. During the current visit to the USSR, putting into practice our modest desire to assist in the teaching of the Japanese language, I presented a gift to Moscow University of a set of equipment for the linguaphone workshop. In addition, I see the possibility of the development of exchanges in all-around contacts in the sphere of literature, music, theater, etc.

## Near East & South Asia

### Ministry Statement on Gulf, U.S. Deployment

*LD0908123590 Moscow TASS in English 1232 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondents Mikhail Ivanov and Aleksandr Kanishchev]

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The Soviet leadership is seriously concerned about the rapidly deteriorating situation in the Gulf, caused by the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Wednesday's "merger" of the two states and the deployment of U.S. naval and air forces in Saudi Arabia.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Yuriy Gremitskikh today read out a statement by the USSR Foreign Ministry, saying that, despite efforts made by the international community, including the Soviet Union, after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, Iraq, "far from withdrawing its troops, announced its factual annexation."

"It is difficult and painful to us to thus assess the latest actions by Iraq, a country with which we are linked by long-standing and friendly relations," says the Foreign Ministry statement.

"We would like to preserve this friendship but in the present situation we cannot remain silent, let alone tell lies."

The Soviet approach to this "question of principle remains firm: Sovereignty, national independence and territorial integrity of the State of Kuwait should be fully restored and protected," the statement stresses.

It also notes that "the Soviet Union opposes force and unilateral decisions" and that, in its opinion, "the most correct and sensible way of acting in conflict situation is collective efforts and the utmost use of U.N. mechanisms."

"In this specific case, we believe that the Security Council should permanently be preoccupied with this burning issue. We are also ready to begin immediate consultations within the Security Council military staff committee which can fulfil very important functions in compliance with the U.N. Charter."

The document notes that "efforts by Arab countries could play an important role in preventing the present situation in the Gulf developing into a major military conflict."

"We attentively followed reports on the Arab emergency summit in Cairo and hope that its results will be an important element of common efforts in connection with the Kuwait situation," the statement says.

The statement also calls on all who are directly involved in the dangerous confrontation in the Gulf, "to respect the will of the international community and a feeling of high responsibility for the destinies of the world."

## U.S. Response to Iraqi Invasion of Kuwait Noted

### Sanctions, Blockade Considered

*PM0808104690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 90 Second Edition pp 1, 5*

[Report by correspondent V. Gan under the rubric "Iraq-Kuwait": "What Will the Next Step Be?"]

[Text] Washington, 7 Aug—The extremely dangerous situation in the Persian Gulf region has pushed into the background virtually all other issues in the U.S. Administration's activity.

In the White House today President Bush was holding consultations all day with his advisers and with British Prime Minister Thatcher and NATO Secretary General Woerner.

Speaking about the results of the vote at the UN Security Council, which adopted—by an overwhelming majority—a decision to impose economic sanctions against Iraq, Bush stated: "We are heartened by the action taken by the United Nations, which shows that the world is united in its attitude to the aggression we have witnessed."

It is acknowledged here that the implementation of these sanctions could be very difficult, although, according to reports from the Near East, sales of Iraqi oil have already fallen. One possible measure is a blockade, and, judging by the U.S. President's words, he is prepared to take this step. "We must discuss the full implementation of sanctions, without ruling out any possibilities," Bush said.

The effectiveness of an international embargo depends ultimately on the position of Turkey and Saudi Arabia, through whose territory 90 percent of Iraqi oil passes to the Mediterranean and the Red Sea. Turkish President Ozal, in an ABC television interview, reaffirmed his country's intention to fulfill the UN Security Council decision and close the oil pipelines, although that will cost the country the loss of 42 billion a year. Things are more difficult regarding Saudi Arabia—U.S. Defense Secretary Cheney, who was urgently dispatched there by the White House, has not yet succeeded in obtaining any definite reply from Riyadh either with regard to closing the oil pipelines or with regard to the American request to allow the Pentagon to use Saudi military bases if necessary.

However, in the opinion of military specialists, even in the absence of such permission the United States will in the near future be able almost completely to block deliveries of Iraqi and Kuwaiti oil to the market, with the help of its naval forces.

The United States is bringing up to the Near East considerable air and naval forces, deploying them in such a way that at any moment the American military "fist" could strike a blow against Iraqi territory.

The present Near East crisis is the first in the post-cold war era. The straightening out of relations between the great powers, the increasingly sure steps in the disarmament process, and the normalization of the international situation has indeed had a beneficial effect on the world. Events in the Persian Gulf show nonetheless how unstable people's security remains and how much still remains for the world community to do to ensure that true stability becomes a real fact of life.

### Troops Deployed in Saudi Arabia

*LD0808143490 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondents Aleksey Berezhkov and Nikolay Orekhov]

[Text] Washington August 8 TASS—U.S. President George Bush made a televised address to the nation from the White House on Wednesday, officially announcing the dispatch of U.S. troops to bases in Saudi Arabia in view of the crisis brought about in the Persian Gulf by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

### U.S. Set To Strike 'Any Time'

*LD0808101990 Moscow TASS in English 1000 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait has spawned a crisis in the Gulf in which many countries have become embroiled, the Soviet press writes today.

PRAVDA writes that "the extremely dangerous situation in the Gulf moved to the background virtually all other matters for the U.S. Administration".

The newspaper writes that "the United States is massing naval and air forces in the Middle East, deploying them for a strike on the Iraqi territory at any time."

The press points to the decision of the United Nations Security Council on Monday [6 August] to impose broad economic sanctions against Iraq.

Stating that the USSR supports this decision, the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper notes that "a decision by the Soviet Government to suspend Soviet arms supplies to Iraq has provoked a very negative response in Baghdad.

"Passions are flying high in Iraq. All Iraqis are of the opinion that Iraq has not committed an act of armed aggression against Kuwait but dispatched its troops at the request of 'Kuwaiti patriotic revolutionaries who overthrew the clique of oil barons.'"

The press notes that, as the statement by the Soviet Government on the Iraqi invasion stresses, no outstanding issues, no matter how complicated they are, justify the use of force.

These developments contradict the interests of Arab states, creating new obstacles to the settlement of conflicts in the Middle East. They run counter to positive trends for improving the international situation.

Analysing the military aspect of the situation, the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper says that "it turns out that Baghdad's statement on the withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait, even if it is really implemented, is nothing but eyewash, since a pro-Iraqi 'Kuwaiti popular army' (with Iraqi volunteers) and the puppet government will stay there.

"Their task is evident: to consolidate the results of the armed invasion. The present action by Iraq provokes serious concern among all who are working for lasting peace and reliable security. The international community cannot put up with aggression, no matter who commits it."

## International Community Condemns Iraqi Invasion

### Afro-Asian Group Issues Statement

*LD0708121590 Moscow TASS in English 1201 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 7 (TASS)—The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee has issued a statement on Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

The document says that the Iraqi invasion harmed the interests of the Arab states and their efforts, exerted for decades, to set up a united front to eliminate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, end conflicts and internecine wars in the Middle East and improve the well-being of the Arab world.

The Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee maintains friendship and cooperation with the Kuwaiti and Iraqi peoples and is convinced that the only possible way out of the current explosive situation is to fulfil the decision of the U.N. Security Council on the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait.

Kuwait's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity must be restored.

### Iraqi Students Protest Policy

*LD0808212390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2020 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Correspondent] Where do you think this is taking place? [video shows marching demonstrators, some masked, holding banners, portraits of the Kuwaiti amir, and Kuwaiti flags; banners include: "We demand the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops from Kuwait!"; "Peace and democracy for Iraq!"; "Down with the Saddam Husayn dictatorship!"; and "No to chemical weapons in Iraq!"]

No, neither in Iraq nor in Saudi Arabia, but here in Moscow, under the windows of the Iraqi Embassy. Activists of the League of Iraqi Students in the USSR organized this protest demonstration against the policy of their own state. Speaking is a postgraduate student at the Moscow Power Engineering Institute, by the name of Asos:

[Asos] Students of our league have come here today together with young Kuwaitis to show their protest against the introduction of Iraqi troops into Kuwait, and we want the unconditional withdrawal of Iraqi troops

from Kuwait. Besides that, we wanted to show our protest against the whole policy of aggression and force.

[Correspondent] Those who are planning to return to Iraq soon or are afraid for their families have their faces covered. It turns out—unexpectedly—that they do not have permission for this event, while embassy staff did not even come out and listen to their compatriots at any time.

### 'So-Called' Government Condemned

*LD0908102190 Moscow TASS in English 1002 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 9 (TASS)—The Kuwaiti Embassy in the Soviet Union has requested that the Soviet Foreign Ministry release a statement on its behalf. The statement says:

"The Embassy of Kuwait in the USSR does not recognise and condemns the so-called 'new Kuwaiti government' formed by the aggressor—the Iraqi ruling clique.

"The embassy confirms that the Kuwaiti people do not recognise this government, since its very existence is a direct consequence of the Iraqi military's criminal invasion of Kuwait, which is condemned by the whole world.

"The embassy confirms its allegiance to the government of His Highness Emir of Kuwait Shaykh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah, headed by His Majesty Crown Prince and Prime Minister Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah.

"The embassy also warns against cooperation with any country wishing to have contacts with the illegal government."

## Commentaries Assess Iraqi Invasion, Aftermath

### 'Split' Seen in Arab World

*LD0808222290 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Arabic 1300 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Station commentary]

[Text] The Council of the Jordanian Journalists Union addressed a protest memorandum to the Egyptian Journalists Union in which it accused some Egyptian journalists of adopting a rigid stance in condemning the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. The memorandum pointed out that the Iraqi forces, in the opinion of the Jordanian media, rescued the Kuwaiti people at their request and in order to protect the security of Kuwait.

It is noteworthy that Amman officially assesses the situation in the Gulf differently, and King Husayn of Jordan, together with six other Arab countries, refused to support an Arab League resolution condemning the Iraqi intervention in Kuwait. In spite of all that, Jordan does not recognize the so-called Kuwaiti transitional government. As for King Husayn himself, he tries to mediate, but his efforts are not leading to the desired results.

In this situation, there are two aspects to which we should pay attention. The first is that the Arab world has been split and is unable to adopt a united stance towards the Iraqi actions. Saddam Husayn was very keen on that when he planned the military aggression against the territories of his old ally.

Gentlemen, let us set aside the ethical considerations about the possibility of justifying this arrogant aggression by claiming that the Kuwaiti people did ask for help. It is not difficult at the end of the day to imagine that the Jordanian authorities could be afraid of their experienced neighbor, who moved south now, as there is nothing to stop him moving west, that is, rescuing the Jordanian people.

The second aspect is that anyone who knows the situation in Jordan well could see that the statement of the Jordanian Journalists Union is, first and foremost, a statement by the Palestinian journalists and political quarters.

Here we face questions to which we would like to get answers. Why did the PLO not condemn openly the Iraqi aggression? Are there close relations between Baghdad and PLO leaders? The Soviet Union has a friendship and cooperation treaty with Iraq, but this did not stop our country from announcing an embargo on exporting weapons to Baghdad on the second day of the aggression.

It is well known that a very large number of Palestinians, who constitute a large sector of the senior businessmen and media officials, also live in Kuwait. The Kuwaiti press in particular launched a wide campaign against the departure of Soviet Jews to Israel. Was the Kuwaiti money allocated for the just Palestinian struggle not sufficient? Where then is the reaction? Perhaps the PLO leaders would like to establish relations of friendship on the basis of the principle of serving the biggest and strongest, and with those who supply weapons or allocate territories on which Palestinian bases could be established. What is the method they want to use to solve the Arab-Israeli conflict?

Unfortunately, these questions are still without answers. In addition to them, there many more. For instance, does Yasir 'Arafat intend to rely on the support of Soviet public opinion in the future in the struggle of the Palestinians for their rights? If he really intends that, then he should take into consideration the fact that milions of Soviet TV viewers were able, after seeing the Iraqi tanks in the Kuwaiti streets, to see the warm embrace between Saddam Husayn and the Palestinian leader who arrived on a visit only a few days after the commencement of the aggression.

From this it becomes clear that no other impression would remain for the Soviet citizens except that the Iraqi dicator, who arrogantly violates the international rights, befriends Yasir 'Arafat. Is not this impression true? There is no indication that the PLO intends to change

that impression. Such a change would be very appropriate because it means proving again that the Palestinian resistance movement does not care about anything except solving the Middle East conflict by peaceful means.

### Invasion Threatens Stability

*PM0808112990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 8 Aug 90 First Edition p 3*

["Observer's Notes" by Vasiliy Pustov: "Aggression Cannot Be Tolerated"]

[Text] Reports have appeared that Iraq is withdrawing its troops from Kuwait, but their authenticity has not yet been confirmed. In either event the fact remains that an act of aggression has been committed. And the development of events during these days gives grounds for reflection and to sum up some results.

In this case, in my view, it is hard to speak of a full-scale war. The small country's 20,000-strong army, which had never fought, was hardly able to offer lengthy, effective resistance to the invasion troops numbering many tens of thousands of soldiers and belonging to a state with a million-strong army which, moreover, acquired rich combat experience in the eight-year war against Iran.

In its relations with Kuwait, Baghdad preferred the argument of force to the force of argument. It tried to justify its actions by means of a manifestly farfetched excuse. This was a request for assistance from some self-styled "provisional government of free Kuwait."

Not without reason the Iraqi armed invasion of Kuwait is regarded everywhere as a serious threat to peace and stability which extends beyond the borders of these two countries. Particular concern is aroused by the concentration on captured Kuwaiti territory and closeness to Saudi Arabia's borders of numbers of Iraqi troops considerably in excess of the forces "necessary" to occupy this small country. Fears are being expressed in the West and in the countries of the Arabian peninsula that Baghdad might be tempted to extend its control throughout the Persian Gulf zone and over oil exports from the Gulf.

In the light of these facts the joint statement by the USSR and the United States and their appeal to Iraq to carry out an unconditional troop withdrawal from Kuwait are particularly noteworthy. The sovereignty, national independence, legitimate authority, and territorial integrity of the Kuwaiti state must be fully restored and ensured. The USSR and the United States are not confining themselves to the adoption of unilateral measures such as suspending deliveries of Soviet arms and military hardware to Iraq and freezing Iraqi deposits in U.S. banks. They have urged the world community to take analogous and other steps. The joint Soviet-U.S. statement graphically attests to an awareness by both powers of their special responsibility for the fate of peace.

The present Soviet-U.S. cooperation, being established for the first time since the war, is acquiring flesh and blood. It is getting further and further away from the past, about which THE WASHINGTON POST not so long ago deemed it necessary to say: "Both during the period of the 'empire of evil' and in the new era the Reagan administration promoted a number of small wars to bleed the USSR white."

I will elaborate—not only for the purpose of "bleeding white" our country. Far from all regional conflicts are a product of the recent dismal Soviet-U.S. rivalry. The present Iraqi-Kuwaiti conflict is not—which has also enabled the USSR and the United States to look at it without any ideological blinders.

Incidentally, in the sphere of regional conflicts the Soviet Union does not confine itself to sensible appeals to other countries. Guided by the new political thinking, it has critically reappraised its former policy in dangerously explosive parts of the planet. Whereas in the past the USSR adopted not always substantiated or even simply unwise decisions, sending its servicemen to other countries to fulfill their "international duty," now not a single Soviet soldier anywhere in the world participates in combat operations. And there is every reason to believe that this will continue to be so.

I believe that it is not without the influence of the new political thinking, which is being widely introduced in the world, that some moves toward a certain restraint are occurring in the U.S. position too. Thus, the U.S. Administration's reaction to the Iraqi armed invasion of Kuwait differs somewhat—admittedly only for the time being, maybe—from the way it reacted to certain events during the Iran-Iraq war. Although even now the U.S. warships permanently stationed in the Persian Gulf region have been joined by others, including an aircraft carrier. After the report that "we are not discussing any military option of actions" President G. Bush soon emphatically left such a possibility open. Observers do not rule out the possibility of a naval blockade of the Iraqi coast and its oil terminals. Calls in favor of direct armed action against Iraq involving carrier-borne aircraft are being made in the U.S. Congress.

Of course, the U.S. Armed Forces have such a possibility, although such a prospect strikes me as rather problematic. This is, above all, because actions by aircraft alone under these conditions would be limited just to punitive functions, hardly essentially changing the situation created as a result of the Iraqi invasion. For this it is necessary to move to the region a significant contingent of ground forces, which would take a considerable time—months. For I will remind you that Iraq, which is demonstrating its bellicosity, possesses large Armed Forces. And it is no coincidence, I believe, that Admiral W. Crowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, pointed out that, in addition to transferring a large number of U.S. troops, it will be necessary to "organize our cooperation in repulsing aggression with other countries in the region." It is also noteworthy that

official statements still keep quiet about the united Central Command (Centcom) and the rapid deployment forces at its disposal earmarked for interventionist actions primarily in the Near and Middle East.

The reaction of the Arab world also cannot fail to influence the U.S. position. Although the majority of Arab countries have condemned the Iraqi invasion, on the whole the opinion prevails among the Arabs that there should be no Western military interference, for otherwise the situation in the region will become still more dangerous. Washington seems to be aware that military actions against Iraq would be attended by great difficulties and also fraught with the danger of being drawn into a large-scale war.

As the Soviet Government statement condemning the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait emphasizes, no disputed questions, however complex they may be, justify the use of force. Such a development of events runs fundamentally counter to the interests of Arab states, creates additional new obstacles in the way of settling conflict situations in the Near East, and is at odds with the positive trends toward improving international life.

It is now coming to light that Baghdad's statement on the withdrawal of its troops from Kuwait, even if it really is implemented, is nothing more than a fiction, since the hastily created pro-Iraqi "Kuwaiti people's army" (incorporating Iraqi volunteers) and the puppet government will remain there. Their task is obvious—to consolidate the results of the armed invasion. Iraq's present action creates very serious alarm in all who strive for lasting peace and reliable security. The international community cannot tolerate aggression, from wherever it stems.

### Iraqi Actions Termed 'Hopeless'

*LD0808132190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GNMT 8 Aug 90*

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton—read by announcer]

[Excerpts] The reports arriving from that region are not reassuring. So far, a way out of the crisis resulting from the invasion of Kuwait by Iraqi troops is not in sight. Moreover, the danger that local conflicts will be internationalized is real. [passage omitted]

American experts are considering different versions of war with Iraq, such as strikes on oil installations, the bombardment of communications used in providing supplies for the Iraqi troops in Kuwait, or a full-scale war with Iraq on the ground and in the air. [passage omitted]

Unfortunately the declarations and concrete actions by the Iraqi leadership seem to be aimed at provoking other countries to resort to extreme measures fraught with risk for all. Baghdad refuses to heed the United Nations Security Council's call to leave Kuwait without delay. It maintains that relations between Iraq and Kuwait are a purely internal affair and Iraq will not let foreigners interfere in it. [passage omitted]

The complex and volatile situation in the Persian Gulf demands that rush decisions capable of leading to an escalation of military actions be avoided. Economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations Security Council are working against Iraq. The political methods of settlement have not been exhausted so far. The Arab world has not said its final word yet. Aggressions should not be put up with, of course, but the world community has not used all its opportunities yet, apart from the purely military ones, in order to bring the aggressor to reason and make him realize how hopeless his actions are. The flexing of military muscle is not the best way to normalize the situation in the Persian Gulf, writes Yuriy Solton, in conclusion.

### 'Strongest Condemnation' Urged

*LD0908121190 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[Commentary by Yuriy Solton]

[Text] So Kuwait is no more. Baghdad decided not to bother about the puppet government or the efforts to keep it in power. It simply decided to proclaim the full merger of the two countries forever. The easiness of victory over the virtually unarmed neighbor, the lack of unity in the Arab world and its indecision evidently turned the Iraqi leaders' heads. They challenged the world community and resorted to the annexation of Kuwait.

This action deserves the strongest and implicit condemnation. I don't know, Yuriy Solton writes, in what key the Soviet Government is going to react—its reaction is only expected—but I'd vote wholeheartedly for a draft resolution which the United Nations Security Council is discussing at the moment. The draft expresses resolve to put an end to Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait and restore the country's sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity.

The Soviet Union maintained good and mutually beneficial economic ties with Iraq. But there cannot be double standards in politics. An aggressor is always an aggressor, and the attitude to it should be corresponding. I, for one, am embarrassed by the thought that when invading Kuwait Iraq was using Soviet-made weapons. True, a few hours after the incursion Moscow announced an end to its shipments of military equipment to Baghdad. The Soviet Union gave support to the Security Council resolution on imposing broad economic sanctions against Iraq.

I think, Yuriy Solton goes on, that the USSR will continue acting in concord with the world community for the purpose of settling the crisis in the Persian Gulf, but there might be difficulties in this connection, and I would caution those who intend to use violence against violence, who believe that the best and quickest solution is to subject Baghdad to a missile strike, physically destroy President Saddam Husayn and leave a bloody trace on Iraqi soil. This danger is quite real. U.S. troops

are already landing in Saudi Arabia, in direct proximity to Iraqi troops occupying Kuwait, American naval forces, having gathered some 30 warships in the Persian Gulf area, are getting prepared for a military operation. Britain has declared that it will support the American Armed Forces in the Persian Gulf. And I share the fears of Egypt's President, Husni Mubarak, who in a televised address to the nation expressed concern over the possibility of Iraq being subjected to a horrible and destructive outside strike.

In my view, writes Yuriy Solton in conclusion, the foremost task today is not to let the military conflict expand. I'm sure that the Arab countries and the United Nations have not yet exhausted the opportunities to normalize the situation without the use of military means. Much will depend on what decisions are taken by today's Arab emergency summit and by the upcoming session of the United Nations Security Council. And I'd like to draw the attention of everyone to the fact that the United Nations secretary general, Perez de Cuellar, has ruled out the use of the United Nations' military forces against Iraq for the time being. The best way out of the present crisis is to resolve the conflict politically, not militarily.

### Egypt Prepared To Host Summit on Mideast Crisis

*LD0808181890 Moscow TASS in English 1801 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Cairo August 8 TASS—Egyptian President Husni Mubarak said today that he expected massive military retaliation against Iraq for its invasion of Kuwait.

In a televised address to the nation, Mubarak said Iraq would receive a massive blow. Aggression (against Iraq) is imminent. It could be horrible and destructive, he said.

Addressing a news conference here, Mubarak said Egypt was ready to host an emergency Arab summit to settle the crisis in the Persian Gulf and overcome the enormous difficulties faced by the Arab world.

He asked Arab leaders to prepare for a calm, reasonable and comprehensive discussion of problems and mutual compromises and not for an Arab summit to exchange accusations and insults.

Mubarak called upon Iraqi President Saddam Husayn to respond to this proposal and take part in the Arab summit to reach a solution to the Iraq-Kuwait crisis by peaceful means within the Arab framework.

Mubarak also called on Saddam Husayn to fulfil the decision taken by the League of Arab States and the United Nations and withdraw its troops from Kuwait. He said this would create favourable conditions for eventually organising bilateral talks with Kuwait to settle all contentious issues in relations between the two countries.

Mubarak described the current situation in the Persian Gulf area as explosive, pointing to the presence of a large number of Western warships there. He categorically dismissed arguments regarding the presence of Egyptian troops in the crisis area.

At the same time, Mubarak said that Egypt was ready to take prt in an inter-Arab peace-keeping force in that region, if a respective decision was adopted at the Arab summit.

Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad and Algerian Foreign Minister Sid Ahmed Ghazali called for convening an emergency Arab summit on the same day that Egypt proposed it.

### Israel's Shamir Discusses Immigration Policy

*PM0808114490 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 9, 27 Jul-2 Aug 90 p 12*

[Report on an interview with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir by Sergey Volovets; place and date of interview not given: "We Will Not Settle Soviet Jews in the Occupied Territories"]

[Text] The Arab-Israeli conflict has to a certain extent always played a role in the East-West confrontation. But now that the cold war is officially over, the conditions for achieving peace in the Middle East look better than ever before. MOSCOW NEWS' Sergey Volovets spoke to the Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir.

Shamir: The Arab-Israeli conflict is not just part of the confrontation between two world blocs, but an ethnic conflict too. From the very beginning our Arab neighbours refused to accept Jews returning to their historical homeland and the existence of an independent Israel. They tried to destroy it by force but did not succeed.

Shortly after the decision to found the Israeli state was made, the Arab countries began to enjoy support from the Soviet Union. This relationship has remained to this day a tradition in Soviet politics which fails to meet the country's interests, because neither today nor in the past has Israel ever been anti-Russian or anti-Soviet.

In the light of major world changes, I am sure that Israel and the USSR in the very near future are ready for a new relationship. I am confident about this because there is a large Jewish community in the USSR and better relations are in our mutual interest. We have received many negative statements from Moscow, but I hope that these are a thing of the past.

Volovets: In what way do changes in the world affect relations between Israel and the USSR?

Shamir: Israel has strategic links with the USA and although they were never directed against the USSR, to the Soviets it looked as though Israel belonged to a enemy bloc. But now that these blocs are less important there are no more grounds for this.

Volovets: I've heard that the arrival of one, maybe two million Jewish emigres is expected.

Shamir: All we can be certain of is the number of Jews who want to leave for Israel. As I understand it, the desire to live an independent national life is consistent with your ideology. We welcome people from the USSR, since they are well educated and make an important contribution to our society. It is important that they act as a bridge between our countries and in the future economic and cultural ties could be intensified on this basis. There have been excellent examples of precisely this kind of cooperation with Poland, Czechoslovakia and other East European nations.

Volovets: There is great concern there and all over the world over the possibility of Soviet Jews settling in the occupied territories. What is your view on this?

Shamir: There have been many exaggerations and I know that the Soviet government is worried over the situation in the so-called occupied territories—which I prefer to call the disputed territories. Our government will not settle emigres from the USSR on this territory.

Some may choose to settle there but in practice very few. Soviet emigres generally prefer to settle in central and southern Israel, so housing will be developed there for the new arrivals. The main aim of our policy is peace with the Arabs, to achieve this we have to have direct talks together. We have little faith in international conferences or the UN's intermediary role. Egypt is the only Arab country with which have established peace and this was achieved through direct negotiations. We need similar talks with the other Arab countries and eventually with Palestinian representatives. The most important thing is to get things going. [Shamir ends]

I listened to the tapes over and over looking for a camouflaged political message in the Israeli Prime Minister's words which would explain why he had consented to give the interview.

I compared his replies with those of other statesmen and public personalities when I asked them the same questions: Yitzhaq Peres, Immigration Minister, Ariel Sharon, Minister of Construction, Yitzhaq Rabin, former Premier (until recently Minister of Defence), Nasir Nashashibi, a well-known Palestinian journalist, Simcha Dinitz, director of the Jewish Agency.

From this I concluded that Israel has only friendly feelings towards the Soviet Union, which is precisely what the Prime Minister said.

But Yitzhaq Shamir failed to make the most important point: that the Arab countries refuse to enter into direct talks with Israel because Israel's present government has prevented the establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the occupied—or in Shamir's words—disputed, territories.

The experience of three Arab-Israeli wars and in general the history of the past five decades have convinced Israelis that the country's security can only be ensured by its Armed Forces and cannot be guaranteed by international agreements or any treaties with Arab countries.

There have been many proposals for Palestinian autonomy on the occupied territories, variations on a federation or confederation, ceding a certain part of the occupied lands.

Neither Arabs nor Palestinians are happy with these. But this does not mean that the conflict has reached a deadlock.

The intifada (Palestinians' struggle in the occupied territories and Israel) has in effect enabled the Palestinians to think more independently. For the first time since 1948 the Palestinians themselves and not only neighbouring Arab countries are fighting for their cause. On the other hand, mass emigration of Soviet Jews has produced a new sense of security in Israel, now that Jews are unlikely to be a minority in their own country. If the flow of emigres continues for several more years (the arrival of about 150,000 is expected by the end of this year), this fear will vanish. The growing confidence in the strength of both Palestinians and Israelis may in future serve as the basis for an agreement, if only a temporary one.

It is no accident that emigration from the USSR ranks first among political priorities.

In this interview, for the first time, Premier Shamir stated unequivocally that his government would not settle emigres in the occupied territories, even though it is not the government's prerogative or concern to choose where emigres are to be settled. Efforts will be made to see that very few are settled on the West Bank, although whether this is taken as a matter of principle or merely a slogan hardly changes anything.

It is time to consider re-establishing diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. All the East European countries have done this already. It is in our common interests, and also in the genuine interests of our Arab friends, since it sets the stage for influencing Israel through diplomatic channels.

## Pakistan Examined After Prime Minister's Ousting

### 'Outward Signs of Coup' Noted

*LD0808192990 Moscow TASS in English 1915 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS political news analyst Askold Biryukov]

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—Will the attempt, made in November 1988 by Benazir Bhutto and the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) to democratise the country, flop now? This question is asked by many analysts who have been confronted with a "constitutional coup" carried out in Pakistan on Monday.

Really, all outward signs of a coup are manifest. These are the dissolution of the National Assembly (the lower house of parliament), the deposition of the prime minister and the imposition of a state of emergency, under which the military now get unlimited power in the country.

Although President Ghulam Ishaq Khan has fixed a date for new elections to Parliament, October 24, many doubt that the incumbent top leadership in Pakistan will allow oppositon forces, now headed by Bhutto and PPP leaders, to take part in the free expression of the people's will.

There are also doubts as to whether the president-promised elections will be held at all. There are grounds for such doubts. The incumbent president is known to be a firm supporter of the policy pursued by the late Ziaul Haq who more than once promised his people to hold elections and then repeatedly postponed an election date.

The British FINANCIAL TIMES believes, for example, that a dictatorship rather than democracy can be established in such country as Pakistan as a result of current developments.

Yet another aspect of developments arouses analysts' concern. The presidential decree imposing a state of emergency said in particular that the decision was taken in view of an "external threat to Pakistan's security."

Considering Pakistan's strained relations with India and Afghanistan, one does not need to stretch one's imagination to suppose that the relations may change for the worse.

With the advent of top brass to power it is quite probable that the omnipotent Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI), the role of which in the pursuance of the policy of interference in the internal affairs of Afghanistan and India is a matter of common knowledge, will gain still greater freedom of action, which is fraught with quite serious consequences to peace in the region. It was precisely the ISI that has always urged the government to pursue a tougher policy with regard to Pakistan's neighbours in the West and East.

Today's Indian newspapers are full of reports that regular units of Pakistani Army, heavy artillery and tanks are moving to their advanced positions at the border with the Indian states of Rajasthan and Gujarat.

The STATESMAN newspaper writes that the unexpected deposition of the Benazir Bhutto government, at a time when Pakistani troops redeploy and when instability in Sind province continues, arouses suspicions that Pakistani President Ghulam Ishaq Khan may go to the risk of unleashing a border conflict with India to justify his actions.

Other newspapers in this connection urge India's Armed Forces to enhance their vigilance. The Afghan press is also striking alarm.

Of course, all developments in Pakistan are the country's internal affair. One would like to hope, however, that events in that country would not tell on efforts made recently to reduce tension in relations between the states of the region.

### Minister Seen as Coup 'Victim'

*LD0908094890 Moscow TASS in English 0935 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Biryukov]

[Text] London August 9 TASS—The dismissal of Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto was engineered by Pakistani intelligence and, was in fact, an army-inspired coup. The former Pakistani head of government made the allegations in an exclusive interview with British Independent Television News.

Bhutto said that the termination of her government by the Pakistani president was hatched by the army and that the new prime minister was a "puppet of generals". She added that she was a victim of a covert military coup.

"My house and residence, other government offices, radio and TV stations were seized by troops," Bhutto noted.

The country has now reached a watershed between democracy and dictatorship. If the army does not retreat, democracy will be kiled in the country, she continued.

As for accusations of her former cabinet members and even of her husband of corruption, Bhutto called them "groundless and false".

Bhutto said that she does not know for how long she will be free.

### Afghan Refugee Resettlement Problems Reviewed

*PM0708173590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 90 First Edition pp 1, 4*

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent V. Plastun under the "Abroad" rubric: "Afghanistan: Reassuring Trends"]

[Text] Kabul—Positive changes in the resolution of the Afghan problem are obvious. The U.S. Senate has decided to cut by one-third the money originally allocated to back the armed opposition's operations against Kabul. Thus, they will be allocated $200 million instead of $300 million.

An Afghan Foreign Ministry spokesman said that the Afghan people welcome this reasonable step, which attests to positive changes in the U.S. Government stance with regard to the peaceful settlement of the protracted armed conflict.

At the same time it was pointed out that the remaining $200 million will unfortunately be spent on the further continuation of the destructive war. This at a time when tangible improvements have appeared along the path to

a political solution to the problem. After all, the funds allocated to the opposition could be used to rebuild the housing that has been devastated during the hostilities, revive the country's economy, facilitate the refugees' return home, and create acceptable living conditions for them in the localities.

Afghanistan's most pressing problem these days is to bring back its compatriots who left their homeland. The UN supreme commissar for refugees' affairs has submitted a plan developed by experts to bring Afghans back and settle them in their native areas.

The Afghan Government, for its part, has compiled a list of measures to welcome back, transport, resettle, and provide aid in creating normal conditions for their compatriots. The Ministries for Returnees Affairs, and for Rehabilitation and Rural Development are implementing specific, extensive plans in this area, working in close contact with observers, experts, and members of the UN mission in Afghanistan.

The difficulties that have arisen in resolving this question are not only connected with individual material discrepancies. The extremist opposition is doing its utmost to oppose the Afghans' return home, since with their departure it loses a source of reinforcements for its own armed groups and a popular base among those people whom they intimidated, blackmailed, and incited to take part in the "Jihad against the infidels." Lastly, with the refugees' departure from the camps in Pakistan and Iran, the mujahidin leaders have lost an opportunity to obtain vast funds, which they often used not for emigres' needs but to continue the war and for self-enrichment. Well-known hard-line leaders R. Sayyaf and Y. Khalis, who claim that the activity to bring Afghans back home is a "plot" concocted against the opposition by the United Nations and the great powers, are particularly notable for this. Another hard-liner (the greatest hard-liner of them all) G. Hekmatyar said, according to the BBC, that the mass return of refugees has provoked disagreements between mujahidin groups and the Pakistani government.

According to UN spokesmen, thousands of refugees who have been housed temporarily in Afghan border regions crossed the Pakistani-Afghan border over the last few days via nine specially equipped posts. When crossing the border they handed over a special UN registration card and obtained a certain sum of money and grain in exchange. The country is giving its sons and daughters a warm welcome.

## Ryzhkov, Afghan Deputy Prime Minister Confer

*LD0708184390 Moscow TASS in English 1810 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—Soviet Premier Nikolay Ryzhkov received Afghan Deputy Prime Minister Muhammad Sarwar Mangal here today. Mangal is the chairman of the Afghan side of the standing intergovernmental Soviet-Afghan commission on economic cooperation.

Mangal informed Ryzhkov about measures taken in Afghanistan to achieve a settlement of the Afghan problem and end the fratricidal war.

Ryzhkov expressed support for the initiatives advanced by President Najibullah and the Afghan Government, which aim to open an all-Afghan dialogue as soon as possible and advance towards general democratic elections in the interests of all Afghans. These issues were given priority at the latest meeting between Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker.

Ryzhkov and Mangal discussed the development of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan under a protocol signed upon the results of the ninth session of the Soviet-Afghan Commission.

The two statesmen expressed confidence that economic ties between the two countries will receive a boost on the basis of the principles of good neighbourliness and mutual benefit and will help successfully implement the policy of national reconciliation in Afghanistan.

## Iranian Parliamentary Group Visits Azerbaijan

*LD0208183190 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0202 GMT 2 Aug 90*

[Text] A delegation of the parliament of the Islamic Republic of Iran has arrived in Baku. The guests, who were received by Ayaz Mutalibov, president of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] expressed their gratitude to the people of Azerbaijan on behalf of the people of Iran for their great help for the disaster region. The guests were later received by Gasan Gasanov, chairman of the Azerbaijan SSR Council of Ministers. The delegation visited the Martyrs' Avenue and went to Baku carpet factory and (?fabric) museum, which work under the spiritual administration of the Muslims of the Transcaucasus, and familiarized themselves with Ichari Shakhar. The Iranian representatives held a congregational prayer together with religious people of Baku in Azhdar Bey mosque. The delegation of the Islamic Republic of Iran will take part in the Ashura [Muharram] ceremonies.

## Iran Considers Reestablishment of Ties With UK

*LD0508140590 Moscow TASS in English 1334 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Ravil Musin: "Iran Decides To Restore Diplomatic Ties With Britain"]

[Text] Tehran August 5 TASS—A meeting of the National Security Council of Iran urged the Foreign Ministry to work towards re-establishing political ties with London.

The meeting was also attended by parliament speaker Mahdi Karrubi and chief judge Ayatollah Mohammed Yazdi.

The decision was adopted unanimously after council members studied recent remarks by British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd and agreed that the remarks came close to meeting Iran's conditions.

In the beginning of March 1989, the Iranian parliament demanded that the Iranian Foreign Ministry broke diplomatic relations with Britain within a week after the British Government supported Salman Rushdie, author of the "Satanic Verses".

Earlier this week, Hurd expressed respect for Islam and said the "Satanic Verses" was offensive to Muslims, TEHRAN TIMES newspaper reported.

### Laptev Meets Visiting Tunisian Parliamentarians

*PM0708175790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 4 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[TASS report: "In An Atmosphere of Mutual Understanding"]

[Text] The intensive and fruitful Soviet-Tunisian dialogue is developing successfully in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. That is how the main result of the 2 August meeting between I.D. Laptev, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Soviet of the Union, and delegates from the Tunisian Chamber of Deputies can be described. The Tunisian parliamentarians headed by Mohamed Ben Saad, member of the Chamber of Deputies' Commission for Political Issues and Foreign Ties and secretary of the Constitutional Democratic Rally party, are on an official visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The chairman of the country's supreme legislative organ told the guests about the large-scale changes in socialist society's life, the restructuring of its economy, and the lawmaking activity of the new Soviet parliament. It was noted that under present conditions its role is steadily growing.

A. Ounaies, Tunisian ambassador to the USSR, took part in the talks.

## East Europe

### Opposition Leader Becomes New Bulgarian President

#### Mixed Reaction Noted

*PM0808150390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 90 Second Edition p 5*

[Dispatch by PRAVDA correspondent L. Zhmyrev: "Bulgaria: Led by a Philosopher and a General"]

[Text] Sofia, 2 Aug—The Bulgarian parliament finally adopted two unforeseen decisions. Opposition leader Zhelyu Zhelev became president despite the overwhelming majority held by Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] deputies (211 out of 400).

As if in retaliation for such a major concession, he immediately proposed General A. Semerdzhiev, a member of the BSP, for the post of vice president. Let us recall that two days previously this man resigned from the post of internal affairs minister owing to the street disturbances outside parliament. Now this abrupt turn of fate....

So we have a philosopher and a general at the top of the state pyramid. What does this promise society? Justifying the BSP parliamentary group's decision to agree to support Z. Zhelev's candidacy, Bulgarian Prime Minister A. Lukanov said that the BSP is thus backing up its definitive renunciation, both de jure and de facto, of its monopoly on power and confirming its adherence to the principles of a multiparty, parliamentary democracy.

Hope was expressed that resolving the question of the president on the basis of accord between opposing political forces would give a powerful boost to the process of interaction and mutual understanding. A. Lukanov pointed out that this step did not come easy to the BSP owing to the profound polarization of sentiments in the country. This step was nonetheless taken in order to embark on the path of national accord and joint work for the good of Bulgaria. Parliamentary democracy was given preference over the pernicious path of confrontation, hatred, mistrust, extraparliamentary pressure, and so-called "velvet" revolutions.

Right after his election Z. Zhelev (284 of the 389 deputies in the hall voted for him) swore an oath and stated his adherence to peaceful, parliamentary forms of democracy and political compromise as a means of finding mutual understanding between political forces.

Z. Zhelev is 55 years old—a philosopher and writer of the well-known book entitled "Fascism" (1982), which was immediately banned. He was one of the founders of the club supporting glasnost and perestroyka in 1988 and has been the leader of the opposition and chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces coordinating council since December 1989.

General A. Semerdzhiev, a BSP member, also enjoys extensive popularity in the country. He is 66 years old and took part in the Great Patriotic War. He studied in the Soviet Union at the K. Voroshilov and M. Frunze Military Academies. He has held the posts of chief of the People's Army General Staff, first deputy national defense minister, and internal affairs minister. He is well known for his devotion to nonviolent means of keeping order and treating "dissenters."

Let us point out that an opposition leader's election to the post of president, albeit "in tandem with a general and BSP member," has by no means provoked an

unequivocal reaction. It has given rise to perplexity, alarm, and even overt protest in many BSP members.

The BSP Supreme Council was forced to gather for an extraordinary sitting late yesterday evening and make an appeal to party organizations and all party members. The appeal, in particular, says that the compromise made in electing an opposition president does not constitute a deviation, much less a "betrayal," but is the only possible step given the sharp polarization of political forces and growing social tension.

A new balance of forces and a new political situation are taking shape whereby some people, even if they hold the majority, must consider other people's opinion and not win through by dint of force and threats. That is the essence of the change. The future will show how far-sighted the 1 August compromise was and what it brings to Bulgarian society.

### Gorbachev Sends Congratulations

*PM0808145390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1*

[USSR President M. Gorbachev congratulates Bulgarian President Zhelev]

[Text] To Bulgarian President Mr. Zhelyu Zhelev

Please accept my sincere congratulations on your election as Bulgarian president.

I voice the hope that the comprehensive ties between the Soviet Union and Bulgaria, based on good traditions, will also develop fruitfully during the present stage of profound transformations in our countries for the sake of both our peoples and in the interests of consolidating security and good-neighborliness on the European continent.

I wish you success in this lofty post in the name of prosperity for Bulgarian society.

[Signed] M. Gorbachev.

### New President Outlines Goals

*PM0808144990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 4*

[Dispatch by IZVESTIYA correspondent A. Kapralov: "President's Appeal to the Nation"]

[Excerpts] Sofia—New President Zhelyu Zhelev addressed the Bulgarian people Sunday evening. The bluntness and harsh truth in his words made a strong impression on his countrymen, above all in a hopeful respect—the helm is in experienced hands. [passage omitted]

We welcome the democratic changes in the Soviet Union, the president noted, without which the processes in East Europe and particularly Bulgaria would have been impossible. We believe that the democratic changes in both countries will make it possible to place our interstate relations on a new footing—in a spirit of mutual understanding, equal rights, and mutual advantage. The traditionally spiritual ties between the Bulgarian people and the Soviet peoples will not only not be weakened but, on the contrary, will become truly sincere.

I will be giving priority, Zh. Zhelev said, to opening the country to the developed Western countries, from which we are expecting technical, technological, and investment aid. Particular attention will be devoted to economic ties and the resolution of foreign debt problems.

In order to find ways out of the crisis, a special consultative council of the parties in parliament will be set up in the very near future. Zh. Zhelev stated that the priority will be to repeal all normative acts infringing human rights that have been adopted by the government and other departments—specifically, the provision on registration. This is a document which has wrecked the careers of hundreds of thousands of Bulgarian citizens for decades. Under current conditions the effect of this document, Zh. Zhelev stressed, not only shamefully restricts human rights, but also makes it impossible to introduce the market economy into the country. In the next few days I also intend to abolish all privileges stemming from party or political membership—since it is impermissible when citizens in a country which claims to be becoming a rule-of-law power are divided into the privileged and the unprivileged. [passage omitted]

### Soldiers Returning From East Europe Face Crises

*LD0708174890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1040 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[From the "Armed Forces and Society Program" presented by Journalists Aleksandr Korshunov and Sergey Guryanov; including recorded interview with Stanislav Pavlovich Golovnin, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and National Security]

[Excerpt] [Korshunov] Our defense mechanism has a great many problems. Today we shall be talking about those that are connected to the withdrawal of the Soviet Army from the countries of East Europe. My colleague, Sergey Guryanov, has been with a group of our parliamentarians, members of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and State Security, in the groups of Soviet soldiers in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and the GDR and in internal districts, those of Moscow, the Baltic, Belorussia, and Kiev. So, over to you, Sergey.

[Guryanov] You and I have now been witnessing the process of withdrawing Soviet troops from the territory of adjacent countries for more than a year. And to our shame, for the most part we have been passive witnesses. Yes, the process has had no shortage of press coverage but the tenor of most of the newspaper items and television and radio reports has been, and indeed remains today, exclusively cheerful. It is possible to understand this but hard to swallow it wholesale. Please don't think I'm asking you to assess the significance of this event in any other way, but a certain euphoria that

arose in society because our soldiers were coming home has hidden from many the most urgent social problems that thousands of servicemen and members of their fmilies have already encountered and are still going to encounter.

[Korshunov] I am not in complete agreement about the euphoria since it didn't grip the whole of society. I think the opposite opinion also exists. However, is the Ministry of Defense capable of tackling these problems independently?

[Guryanov] The people's deputies who worked most scrupulously reached the following unanimous conclusion: The military department is doing all it can to settle the troops who are being withdrawn. It is another matter that what it can do is very limited. After the trip, I talked in detail about all we had seen to Stanislav Pavlovich Golovnin, a member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Committee on Defense and National Security.

[Begin recording] [Golovnin] We began from the fact that the decision, the political decision, to withdraw our troops was correct. However, since it was a decision that had not been prepared for, we are encountering this problem for the first time. Troop withdrawal is being effected within a very short time and, to be frank, we had scarcely anything at the local level. The Ministry of Defense is exerting the utmost effort to solve the housing problem. This involves building prefabricated houses—to be frank, they are just huts—providing a single room in which to live, refitting barracks. In other words, it means at least getting a roof and somewhere to sleep for the family to start with. But, you will agree that living in a hut is not a solution to the problem. For this reason, the state has allocated extra money for building houses. In this instance, however, money is all very well but there is a disastrous shortage of building materials. In Belorussia, for example, the situation regarding the construction of living accommodation is very complex. This is connected with the elimination of the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster. The initial resettlement of families from the contaminated (?area) involves something in the region of 50,000, while 112,000 actually need to be moved. Stationing and building accommodation for servicemen is a fairly hefty burden and even though the Ministry of Defense will be doing the building, construction materials have to be obtained through local funds. How, then, is this problem to be solved? It can be said outright that it is very difficult.

The problem is also complicated in that there is a degree of antagonism, contradiction, and tension which arises in connection with the fact that a number of servicemen's families who were just about to get their apartments found the apartments given to people who had just arrived.

[Guryanov] Are there such cases?

[Golovnin] There are and they are brought up openly at meetings. Everyone knows, of course, that the families of the servicemen who are returning to the territory of the Soviet Union at the moment are in no way to blame but all the same, this too, has become a problem.

[Guryanov] You have met servicemen, the members of their families and the leaders of military districts, units and subunits.

What is the mood of the people who might be returning home tomorrow? After all, more than half the officers being withdrawn from the groups of troops do not have accommodation in the Soviet Union.

[Golovnin] Let's put ourselves in their place. If I am living in a normal apartment and then move to a hut, what kind of mood am I going to be in? Measures are being taken to solve this problem. For example, a number of officers who do have living accommodation on the territory of the Soviet Union but not in the garrison to which they are being sent are able to travel to their place of residence. Officers have been permitted to be off the staff [za shtatom] for 18 months. So part of the problem is being removed. Moving from a nicely decorated apartment to a barracks, soldiers' quarters, or hut would, in my opinion, put anyone in a bad mood.

I would say once again that politically, this has been a correct decision but, to a certain degree, a hasty one since the time period is so short and the base for the troops who are being withdrawn is so unprepared that a really big problem has been created.

The point is that we are talking about the social protection of the officer or serviceman and at the same time, we are deciding the matter of where he is to serve, how he is to serve, and where he is to move without providing advance notice or preparing the place in which he is to live. It must be borne in mind that an officer's work is very difficult. Where can he get a normal rest? Where can his children go to school as normal? Where are their wives to work? It must be taken into account among these problems that at the present time, we have 170,000 servicemen who do not have apartments, and that is on the territory of the Soviet Union alone. In total, 300,000 families need housing plus a large number of servicemen being withdrawn from Czechoslovakia and Hungary. It is a very difficult situation.

The question naturally arises as to what might be expected of our trip. I would say that a number of matters have already been dealt with. An intergovernmental commission is to be set up which will include representatives of those ministries and departments that can directly help to solve the accommodation problem. This will operate constantly until the problems regarding the stationing of these units have been fully resolved. [passage omitted] [end recording]

## West Europe

### Yeltsin Says Russia May Sign Treaty With UK

*LD0808134790 Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Russia's President Boris Yeltsin has said that his republic is on the brink of signing an independent treaty with Britain. Talks on a similar accords have been under way with the United States and Japan. In an interview on the eve of his tour of the country, Yeltsin reemphasized his advocacy for signing a new Union treaty as soon as possible and recognizing the sovereignty of all the republics making up the USSR. He said that a treaty on the political, economic, and cultural cooperation between Russia and three Baltic republics of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia would apparently be ratified in the next four or six weeks' time.

### Rescheduling of All-Germany Elections Analyzed

*PM0908104790 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 9 Aug 90 First Edition p 3*

[Article by NOVOSTI and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA correspondent Yu. Chervakov: "De Maiziere's 'White Flag.' Decision To Bring Forward All-Germany Elections Weakens GDR Positions in Talks With FRG"]

[Text] Berlin—GDR Prime Minister L. de Maiziere caused a sensation when he stated in Berlin a few days ago that the all-Germany elections, which were previously planned for 2 December, should be held 14 October along with land elections.

The prime minister's words initially were thought to have been misheard—words that defied logic. Passions around events in Berlin had hardly abated when essentially the fate of the current GDR Government coalition was placed in the balance. As is known, L. de Maiziere had once taken a hard line on the question of the GDR's affiliation with the FRG, a process which should have been completed, in his view, not before 2 December. The "advocate for 16 million people," as the prime minister sometimes calls himself, wanted to thereby ensure maximum rights for his fellow citizens in a united Germany. Particularly in terms of questions of land ownership, the financing of the five future laender being formed on what is now GDR territory, the fate of people's enterprises, and so forth. All these are indeed not easy questions, and De Maiziere's arguments had a completely convincing ring to them.

And then this sharp turnaround. When pondering the possible causes, you immediately think of the prime minister's unexpected lightning visit to Chancellor H. Kohl a few days earlier. He was accompanied—and this is noteworthy—by Secretary of State H. Krause, who is chief GDR negotiator with the Western partner on the entire package of German unification questions. What could have been discussed on the shore of Lake Wolfgangsee in the Austrian Alps? The unification of Germany, of course—H. Kohl's favorite topic. But judging by the way events developed, a significant place in this context was taken by questions relating to the preelection strategy of the unified CDU [Christian Democratic Union]. It is clear why the objectors on this occasion, too, included the GDR Social Democrats, who, although coalition partners, were not informed either about the content of the conversations of the banks of the Wolfgangsee or about De Maiziere's upcoming statement. So what they heard from De Maiziere's lips about elections was like a bolt from the blue as far as they were concerned. Although, it is now clear, 14 October was the exact date that emerged there, in the Austrian Alps.

So why was the date for the all-Germany elections changed? There is an element of truth in the words of West German SPD [Social Democratic Party] Board member Horst Ehmke, who has accused Chancellor Kohl and Prime Minister de Maiziere of deciding to move up the elections after having engendered an economic and social crisis in the GDR. He claims they did so because they feared how their party would be affected if the elections were to be held as planned on 2 December.

Incidentally, Kohl's main rival—the Social Democrat Lafontaine—thinks exactly the same thing. Their sympathizers in the GDR are also in solidarity with them. The situation in the GDR is indeed desperate, particularly in terms of the economy. The government has essentially proved incapable of effecting any fundamental changes for the better and resolving any of the serious problems. Moreover, these problems continue to pile up, promising to peak just at the end of the year—coinciding, that is, with the all-Germany elections if they were to be held on 2 December.

In the GDR SPD Board's opinion, the rescheduling of the elections, which signifies nothing other than a white flag of surrender being raised in Berlin, considerably weakens the republic's position at talks with its Western partners.

The FRG Government and the opposition have failed to overcome their differences on the question of the timing of all-Germany elections. That was the result of the meeting that Chancellor Helmut Kohl held Tuesday with the largest opposition party, the SPD. As he told journalists after the meeting, its participants were united on only one thing: The GDR must become part of the FRG as soon as possible. But, unlike the ruling parties, the SPD does not consider it essential for the timing of the country's unification and the timing of all-Germany elections to coincide.

Chancellor H. Kohl stated that the government coalition intends to submit a proposal to the Bundestag Thursday on holding all-Germany elections early on 14 October. In his words, the need to bring these elections forward is dictated by the "exceptionally historic situation." But since this requires a change in the FRG Constitution by a two-thirds majority of deputies' votes (and the ruling parties do not have such a majority) this proposal is most likely doomed to failure.

## Political & Social

### Bakatin Says MVD Wants Arms Decree Extended

*PM0908105890 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Report on interview with USSR Intenal Affairs Minister V. Bakatin by unidentified TASS correspondent; place and date of interview not given: "Carefully Assessing the Situation"]

[Text] In connection with the expiration of the deadline set by the presidential Decree on the Self-Disbandment of Armed Formations Not Envisaged by the USSR Constitution and the Voluntary Surrender of Unregistered Weapons, your TASS correspondent asked USSR Internal Affairs Minister V. Bakatin to assess the situation.

The MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has never entertained any illusions regarding the voluntary mass surrender of weapons, the minister said. However, this in no way diminishes the USSR president's decree, which is of extreme political and legal significance.

In executing the presidential decree, the supreme organs of power, Union republic governments, and local soviets carefully analyzed the situation and gave an assessment of the actual operational situation. As a result the well-founded conclusion was drawn that on the territory of the overwhelming majority of republics, there are none of the unlawful armed formations with which the presidential decree is concerned.

However, V. Bakatin noted, active work is being carried out to neutralize and eliminate criminal bandit groups in possession of illegally obtained firearms. Intensive operational and investigative measures are being taken against such groups and their criminal actions.

Since 25 July 1,600 firearms and more than 100,000 rounds of munitions have been voluntarily surrendered or seized. Questions concerning the accountability of guilty persons and also their discharge from accountability in cases stipulated under the law are being tackled in accordance with republics' criminal and criminal procedural legislation. The most effective measures have been taken by the governments and law-enforcement agencies of Belorussia, Kirghizia, and the Russian Federation. Work is continuing.

The situation in Armenia is different. Until recently, the republican authorities had not taken a constructive stance. However, there are grounds for maintaining that the political situation in the republic is changing. The hope is emerging that the Armenian authorities are in a position to solve through their own efforts and within a short period all the tasks relating to internal life and the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in the republic. The leadership of the republic's Supreme Soviet has urged armed formations to show restraint.

The USSR MVD, which has always been and remains committed to the principle of the maximum legality and the minimum force, welcomes such a responsible approach.

The MVD has carried out consultations on these questions with the new leadership of the republic. Mutual understanding has been reached on the need to strengthen law and order and citizens' safety and to eliminate the illegal possession of weapons. The MVD hopes that the changes occuring in Armenia and Azerbaijan will make it possible to adopt a well-considered and politically responsible approach to tackling the problems that have arisen concerning Nagorno-Karabakh on the basis of the USSR Supreme Soviet Decree of 5 March 1990 "On the Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and the Armenian SSR and Measures To Normalize the Situation in That Region."

The minister said that the aforementioned factors have made it possible for the MVD to propose to the USSR president an extension of the deadline set by the decree for the surrender of weapons by unlawful armed formations.

### Republics Continue Discussion on Union Treaty

*LD0808195790 Moscow TASS in English 1951 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—The working groups of the USSR Supreme Soviet, the USSR Council of Ministers and plenipotentiary representatives of the supreme soviets of union republics continued to discuss at their consultative meeting here today the conclusion of a new union treaty. Representatives of the Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] and Turkmen SSR set out their views and proposals.

Speakers from the Tajik SSR involved Tajik First Parliament Deputy Chairman Kadriddin Aslonov and Deputy Prime Minister Abduzhalil Samadov.

They emphasised that the Tajik public favoured forming a single union of sovereign republics. The best conditions for making headway in the economy, solving social problems and for the mutual enrichment of cultures can be created only within the union, they said.

Discussions focused on such issues as republics' equal representation in the union parliament, recognising autonomies as fully-fledged subjects of the union, updating presidential power, the need to come to grips with the complex demographic situation and others.

The Turkmen SSR at the round-table conference was represented by Turkmen Parliament Deputy Chairman Otchertsov and First Deputy chairman of the Republican Council of Ministers Ata Chariyev. They said that the creation of a renewed union of sovereign states was dictated by historical experience and the present-day political situation.

They also emphasised that the treaty needed to envisage the democratisation of all state institutions and society as a whole. It should provide for extending the guarantees of human rights and freedoms, creating new conditions for economic integration in the interests of raising the welfare of all peoples living in the union, developing and enriching national cultures and human values.

The speakers emphasised that the voluntarily delegation by the republics of part of their authorities to the union should not mean that they are kept away from solving issues related to them.

### 'New Approaches' Viewed

*PM0808140690 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 31, 31 Jul-6 Aug 90 p 12*

[Article by Boris Kurashvili: "30 Instead of 15"]

[Text] Elaboration of the new Union Treaty is lagging behind rapid developments. The Soviet Union will never be what it was. Only new, more flexible federation can save it from disintegration. Some features of such a federation are visible already today. As for its other qualities, they can be reasonably predicted.

With the adoption of the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Russian Federation (and Russia is the backbone of the entire Union), the first feature of the new Union became a reality, transforming the USSR from a unitary state with autonomous entities into a genuine federation. This feature is limitation of the Union powers, the powers of the centre and its bodies to those powers which the constituent republics delegate voluntarily to it, while preserving their sovereignty.

The second feature is determined by the existence in society of different ideological and political trends: the new federation will be composed of both purely socialist republics and those allowing a combination of socialist and capitalist elements in their economies. If we want to preserve the Union, this fact should be recognized without any illusions.

An integrated state market can serve as the economic foundation for a federation of republics belonging to different economic systems. In some republics, this market will be state-controlled, in others, it will be a mixed market. Some experts and politicians insist, however, that a market can only be capitalist. This is not true, however. Market mechanisms are similar in all formations. The difference is in the composition of the participants in the economic activity. As a general rule, the main element of the formation of a socialist market is destatization (not privatization) of state-run enterprises and granting to them ownership rights on their property and, as a consequence, complete economic independence.

The third feature which is starting to become a political reality and with which the political leadership of the USSR seems to have reconciled itself, is different degrees of Union membership. Most republics will join the Union on federative principles, delegating more rights to the Union and getting some compensation instead. Other republics will delegate fewer rights and will not insist on any compensation.

The fourth feature, which is hypothetical, but nonetheless based on reality, is that the Soviet Union will incorporate republics of two types: the existing national republics and republics; "states," which will appear after the disintegration of the largest national republics (the tendency to disintegrate can already be observed). Regions and territories of Russia, the Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan would receive greater independence, more economic and other rights and freedoms. These large republics will be preserved as sub-federal entities within the Union with coordinating bodies for solving problems of national importance. This idea may seem debatable, but it deserves discussion.

The Soviet Union might look like a federation of thirty republics: the North-West, Middle Russian, Middle Volga, Lower Volga, Southern Russian, North Caucasian, Ural, West Siberian, East Siberian, Far Eastern, North Ukrainian, Left-Bank Ukrainian, Right-Bank Ukrainian, South Ukrainian, West Kazakh, North Kazakh, South Kazakh, East Uzbek, West Uzbek, Belorussian, Azerbaijanian, Georgian, Armenian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Kirghiz, Tajik, Turkmenian, Estonian and Moldavian.

There is a number of arguments for such a reform of the Union. The fifth, rather problematic, feature is the neceessity of developing new forms of maintaining an integrated Union system of laws.

In the future, Soviet "civic society" ties between enterprises, cooperatives, institutions and citizens located in different republics will have to be direct and extensive and carried out without the mediation of republican state bodies or of the centre. Everybody will be interested in the elimination of legal impediments to these diverse ties and in the complete legal transparency of the inter-republican borders. Even the current degree of uniformity of legislation does not satisfy this interest, because besides the all-Union fundamental legislations, there are also union republican and autonomous republican specifying codes and other laws which more often than not only differ on minor points.

If the Union Treaty includes the principle stipulated in the Declaration of Sovereignty of the Russian Federation that a union republic can to a certain degree censor union laws and suspend them unilateraly, before starting settlement negotiations, then the legislation will be paralyzed and its application entirely confused.

There is a way out. All-Union codes and other direct action laws will be adopted on the basis of a consensus of the republics (by a qualified majority of votes in the absence of votes cast against them). The Soviet Union

will, for example, have an integral Code of Civil Procedure. In this case republics could adopt amendments to Union laws and codes, taking into account their specific conditions and features.

These new approaches may help prevent the Soviet Union from disintegrating, keep republics in the federation, thus saving them from the hardships and dangers of the separate existence in the world which will never be a paradise.

### India-Style Federation Viewed

*90UN2545A Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian No 31, 4 Aug 90 p 8*

[Article by Academician Nikita Moiseyev: "Avoid Unification"]

[Text] The question of a Union treaty, in my view, is the central issue of perestroyka, since it must reduce to a minimum all the difficulties of interethnic relations. There is no greater danger to the stable development of society than nationalism. History convinces us of this. Alas, everyday life today convinces us of this.

The principle by which state borders are identified as ethnic was formulated in European culture in the 19th century. This principle, I am deeply convinced, is mistaken—forgive the pun—in principle. Ethnic borders can never be accurately determined, while state borders are precisely fixed geographic lines beyond which the jurisdiction and rights of one country end and the jurisdiction and rights of another begin. No matter how carefully we draw the border, any state will inevitably turn out to be a multiethnic country—it is impossible to divide ethnic communities.

If we are to talk about trends existing in world practice today, we would say that the world is moving toward economic borders. This is dictated by the development of scientific-technological progress, the consolidation of integrational ties, and the need to resolve ecological problems in diverse joint efforts. The modern concept of democracy also requires that the governments of states not be ethnic, but guarantee the rights of all inhabitants of the country regardless of their ethnic affiliation or religious convictions.

It is for precisely this reason that a federation of republics, whose borders are identified with the national borders of peoples compromising the majority of the population of these republics, does not seem to me to be the best means of resolving the problems of cooperation among peoples. I stress the factor—**cooperation among peoples**—and not republics. In my view, the best form of organization of a multiethnic state is a federation of states [shtat]. Perhaps not in the American way, but in the Indian fashion where, along with general laws, each federated state can have its own system of laws, its own state language, and at the same time the borders of the federated state are not conditioned by the borders of the regions in its territory where representatives of one nationality or another live.

All the same, I believe that under present conditions the possibility of organizing the Soviet Union according to the principle of a confederation of states has been lost. This was possible about 25 years ago. Today the reality is judicious organization of a Union treaty among republics—which is not, I stress, the best variant, since division of the Soviet Union on the republic principle does not resolve ethnic problems, but shifts the difficulties of their resolution from the all-Union level to the republic level. But we will proceed from reality.

It is very important today that we develop an efficient procedure for adoption of a Union treaty. Many people may not agree with me, but I believe that if development of a new treaty begins in a forum in which representatives of all 15 Union republics participate, we will hardly succeed right away in drawing up general positions to suit everyone. I feel that we must first develop and approve a Union treaty model within the framework of the three republics of Russia, Belorussia, and the Ukraine. These three peoples have always been united by a common faith, common language (we can understand one another without a translator), common destiny. If representatives of these three peoples formulated principles and variations of republic consensus, if they decided which rights to delegate to the Union and which should remain with the republics—since, in addition to what they have in common, there is a great deal which differentiates these peoples (without a doubt, republic sovereignty must be observed)—an essential step on the path toward a general Union treaty will have been taken. When such a Union of the three is formed, it will be easier for the other Union republics to decide on what terms they will enter this Union. Some kind of specific experience will have been accumulated, there will be some kind of specific practical work from which we may proceed, which we may use for measure. I want to stress that each republic must decide independently which rights it delegates to the Union. Real differences in the degree of community of peoples can in no way be dismissed. The spectrum of possible rights and obligations must be very broad—from profound union to an association which is more economic than political. If we again strive for unification, we risk destroying the entire effort.

And another observation: I am convinced—and this is not just my view, incidentally—that the capital of the Union state must not be the capital of one of the Union republics. This is a question of the future, of course, but we would have to create some kind of district, like the District of Columbia, which would not be under the jurisdiction of any of the republics. The presence of a capital outside the republics will remove a mass of problems. After all, we saw what happened when people spoke of the hand of Moscow, when there was discontent with decisions of the center—this discontent was transferred to Russians, wittingly or unwittingly. Russians

became the bearers of evil, which did not help social stability in society in any way. The government and Union organs should exist completely independently, so that each republic is absolutely certain that responsibility for the fate of the Union, the fate of the federation, is borne equally by all of them.

## RSFSR Leaders View CPSU Congress, Future

*LD0808174390 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Lev Aksyunov]

[Text] Moscow, August 8 TASS—The second phase of the founding congress of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation in September should go to the left of the 28th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU).

This opinion was voiced by CPSU Central Committee members—Viktor Ryabov, deputy head of the ideological department of the party's Central Committee, Otto Lacis, a prominent economist, and Vladimir Lyakishev, secretary of the party committee of a Moscow institute, at a news conference here today.

"If no swing to the left occurs, the very idea of establishing of a Russian Communist Party will be forgotten," Ryabov said. "Unfortunately, the political clocks of some party leaders are slow. This can be said of Russian Communist Party leader Ivan Polozkov."

Describing the results of the 28th congress of the CPSU, Lacis touched upon the consolidation of democratic forces within the party.

He believes that "the centrists have covered at least three quarters of the road to meet the 'Democratic Platform.' However, the 'Democratic Platform' did not take steps in response."

After the congress ended, some members of the Democratic Platform took steps but in the opposite direction, announcing their withdrawal from the CPSU. "I regret this very much," Lacis said.

Despite all the complexities and the periodic rude remarks on the part of a number of delegates, the 28th congress of the CPSU on the whole supported Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of perestroyka and of the radical renewal of society, Ryabov believes.

Commenting on the accord reached between leaders of the Soviet Union and the Russian Federation to set up a joint working group to prepare an all-union programme for the transition to a market economy, Lacis emphasised that without this accord, a successful transition to market would have been impossible.

## Secretariat Views Union Treaty, Party 'Renewal'

*LD0808193890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] On 7 August there was a routine session of the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat which discussed the question of participation of the central committees of the communist parties of Union republics, kray party committees, and oblast party committees in organizational and political work which will help ensure success in the present harvest.

A report on this was given by Stroyev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. It was stressed at the Secretariat session that the place of communists today is where the grain is being harvested. Semenova, Shenin, Yanayev, members of the Politburo, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee, Kravchenko, Shlyaga, members of the CPSU Central Committee, and other comrades shared their ideas.

Another matter tabled for discussion by the Central Committee Secretariat was just as acute. This was the situation which has come about in subscriptions to the central party press which will be operating in conditions of a multiparty system, political struggle, and real competition with other publications. In determining information policy for next year and adopting a decision on party publications, the Central Committee Secretariat will not place its press in any sort of privileged position.

The session also examined the question of tasks of party committees in connection with the preparation of a new Union treaty. A speech was made on this by Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The Central Committee secretariat addressed an appeal to party committees and to delegates of the 28th CPSU Congress, to communists in the mass media, and party ideology activists to conduct wide explanatory work among the working people and various strata of society on the aims and tasks of the new Union treaty. The new Union relations should be founded first and foremost on rights and liberties, equality, and people's prosperity, irrespective of their ethnic origin.

In connection with the creation of a commission to prepare a draft new program of the CPSU, it was decided to start work on gathering, analysing, and summing up proposals arriving from communists, party organizations, scholars, and sociologists. This document should be the fruit of collective thought by the party. It is also proposed to examine a range of questions concerned with the participation of the party in preparing a law of the USSR on public associations and on further development within its framework of constructive relations between the CPSU and other parties, sociopolitical movements, and organizations.

A number of other measures was set out to promote the further democratization of party life and renewal of forms and methods of its work. The need to substantially

reduce the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee was recognized, as well as the need to renew it considerably.

With this aim it was decided to carry out a certification of competence of all staff of the CPSU Central Committee apparatus and widely inform the public of the principles and practice of its formation. The full text of this report is being published in the press.

### Danger of 'Conservative Wing' in Party Aired

*LD0808160990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] "The party and perestroyka" was the subject of a press conference which took place at the press center of the CPSU Central Committee in Moscow today.

Meetings with secretaries and members of the Party Central Committee at the Central Committee Press Center will be held regularly from now on. This was announced at the start of the press conference. Viktor Vasilyevich Ryabov, Otto Rudolfovich Latsis, and Vladimir Alekseyevich Lyakishev, Central Committee members, answered numerous questions from journalists today. All three were delegates to the 28th party congress and participated in drawing up its program documents. The congress and its results in the light of their personal experience interested the journalists. The participants in the meeting were unanimous in one main thing: The congress did not bring victory to the conservatives, far from it. It became a basis for rallying all the democratic forces in society.

[Begin recording] [unidentified journalist] The need for deideologizing the economy seems to be recognized by everybody today. What will be the real place and role of the party in the process of transition to a market economy?

[Ryabov] I, for instance, see the danger of the consolidation within the party of a conservative wing that will hamper this transition in every possible way and will be stirring unhealthy tendencies, especially among the low-income strata of society. And in my view, party organizations are faced with a very serious task of making their choice, persuading, pondering, and taking up a position. Otherwise, we will have yet another front of confrontation in society. [end recording]

### Shostakovskiy Views Democratic Platform's Future

*LD0808140090 Moscow NEW TIMES in English No 31, 31 Jul-6 Aug 90 pp 8-9*

[Interview with Democratic Platform leader Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy by Tatyana Chernova; place and date not given: "Is a Withdrawal From the CPSU Really a Way Out?"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The declaration made at the 28th congress of the CPSU by Vyacheslav Shostakovskiy, a leader of the Democratic Platform, enraged some people and pleased others. What does the head (or already former head) of the Moscow Party School have to suggest?

[Chernova] What is the essence of the declaration you attempted to make at the 28th Party Congress?

[Shostakovskiy] Division of the CPSU. This is an original form of what I would call civilized divorce. It allows continuity of rights of each segment of the party. Thus we want to prevent a chaotic withdrawal from the CPSU and suggest that those who share the views of the Democratic Platform should not bang doors, turn in their party membership cards or succumb to provocations if attempts are made to expel them from the party.

[Chernova] But aren't factions forbidden in the party?

[Shostakovskiy] We are not a faction. We are seceding from the CPSU in an organized manner, on the basis of the right of members of any public organization to divide according to their beliefs. Now we are living through a transitional period where a new political party sharing the ideas of the Democratic Platform is being formed.

[Chernova] What are the major differences in your view as compared to those of the CPSU?

[Shostakovskiy] We advocate cancellation of the principle of democratic centralism and transition to federal principles. By the way, our stand on these issues is being continuously distorted, and was distorted at the congress as well. We are not at all opposed to a primary party organization's functioning in a work collective. If communists so decide, they can establish a party organization where they work. This organization, however, must not interfere with production and personnel matters. You work at work, and politics must not mix with business.

We are dissatisfied with how the rights of minorities are reflected in the new Party Rules. We believe, that a minority must have the right not only to question the majority's decision or uphold its own point of view, but also to refuse to carry out decisions taken by the majority. People cannot be forced to act against their conscience. This practice has existed in the CPSU for decades and is connected to the problem of factions. The Stalinist interpretation of factions was present at Central Committee plenums, during the precongress discussion, and at the congress itself.

[Chernova] You believe that this interpretation of factions is a Stalinist one. What about Lenin and his resolution on the unity of the party?

[Shostakovskiy] Lenin was very reluctant to adopt this resolution and regarded it as a temporary measure which was necessary under the circumstances. In this country, however, there is nothing more permanent than temporary measures. Had the congress decided to allow factions, organizational unity of the party could have been

saved. We still have to learn the reasonable confines of such unity. We want the party to march in tight formation towards one goal.

The congress did not approve of any of our suggestions concerning organizational matters. Besides this, the congress refused to consider the problem of withdrawing the army, the Ministry of the Interior and the KGB, all state agencies, from party control. This is an abnormal state of affairs and it will soon enter into conflict with the formation of a state committed to rule of law. How can the Politburo take decisions on military policies? It contradicts the very essence of a rule-of-law state.

[Chernova] Do you have any ideological differences with the CPSU?

[Shostakovskiy] We suggested that Communism as the strategic objective be removed from the program declaration and rules of the CPSU. We suggested that the party's name be changed to reflect the party's orientation towards democratic, humane socialism. Boris Yeltsin spoke about this too.

[Chernova] What is your opinion of the speech by Yeltsin?

[Shostakovskiy] It reflected many views of the Democratic Platform. Moreover, views not of the Democratic Platform alone, but of all democratically-minded people who want perestroyka to succeed. Unfortunately, Yeltsin's suggestions and proposals went unheeded...

[Chernova] What will the new party be like?

[Shostakovskiy] It will be a party of democratic socialism! We would like to see the whole of the CPSU become such a party, but the congress refused to follow us and opted to preserve the vanguard type of the party. This vanguard role of the Communist party is declared by top CPSU leaders too, ignoring the fact that the people have not given the party the vanguard mandate. But the declaration itself makes it unnecessary to win such a mandate.

Ours will be an open, ideologically and politically receptive party allowing for extensive pluralism and factions.

[Chernova] Which factions, for instance?

[Shostakovskiy] A peasants' faction. We must pay special attention to the specific problems of peasants. Marxism tended to ignore such problems. Marx, Engels and especially Lenin had a negative attitude toward the peasantry. The Communist Manifesto speaks of 'the idiocy of rural life.' The classics praise the bourgeoisie for the destruction of this idiocy through urbanization of rural life. The bourgeoisie stopped in time, however, while we brought our rural life to complete idiocy.

[Chernova] Many parties have already been formed in the country. Are you not afraid you may be lost in this variety?

[Shostakovskiy] I do not think mass parties are needed. We are suffering from a bad political legacy, from the belief that all people must take part in politics. In normal society, people are not so much involved in the political life, they just go to the polls once every several years, drop a ballot thus expressing their attitude to this or that political party. There are many better things than politics in life and people must be freed from the necessity of dealing with political matters every day. One of the CPSU's troubles, I believe, is the forced increase in its membership: a million-strong party is a cumbersome organism. An open party prepared for constructive dialogue, oriented towards self-government, with few or no bureaucratic structures and a small apparatus, has a chance to survive and gain prominence.

[Chernova] When did you develop such views which are untraditional for a Party School head?

[Shostakovskiy] It was a process. A process of hard, painful analytical work. I was rather a conformist during the years of stagnation, although, as were many other people, I was dissatisfied with much of what was going on. This dissatisfaction, however, never manifested itself in an act of protest. I did not question what is known as values of Marxism, taking them for granted. But I was doing an inner work which developed to my more radical position. During perestroyka, especially after 1986 when I was appointed head of the Party School, I understood much. Before this appointment, I worked for the CPSU Central Committee and had no time to engaged in theoretical research, but at the Party School I did much research work.

[Chernova] Obviously, you will have to quit your job at the Party School?

[Shostakovskiy] On July 16, a courier from the chancellery brought me the decision of the bureau of the Moscow City Party Committee of July 13 (note the date: the congress was still at work) sacking me as head of the Party School. On July 13, it was said at the congress that there was a decision to sack me taken by the Secretariat of the Central Committee. I tried to find out which Secretariat this was? The old one had been dissolved and the new one had not yet been formed. This means that the decision to sack me had been taken in advance and moth-balled for a while, due to time-serving political considerations. Now the decision is being reactivated by the efforts of the Moscow City Party Committee. I refuse to recognize this decision as legally valid. First, it distorts the essence of our declaration saying we quit the CPSU voluntarily. Second, I cannot agree to the formula: to relieve Shostakovskiy of his duties as unsuitable for the office. A special panel of experts decides who can occupy a certain position at an institution of higher learning. I underwent an examination by the council of the Party School in 1987 and there was secret voting. How can a political body sack me as unsuitable for the office? I am going to appeal to court. This decision is in fact a way to pacify some delegates of the party congress who wanted my blood, demanded that I be stripped off all scientific

and other degrees, refusing to understand that this was not a prerogative of the congress. I am going to appeal against this decision.

[Chernova] For what purpose?

[Shostakovskiy] I regard my firing as an act of political suppression of dissent. Such acts must not be allowed in the party. As for the decision of the City Party Committee, it is insulting for me as lecturer, research worker and head of the Party School.

[Chernova] You have raised the question of the property of the CPSU. Do you believe the party will share its property voluntarily?

[Shostakovskiy] This is not our priority demand, but our position on this score is determined. I believe the most reasonable thing to do under current conditions is to hand over a considerable part of party property to Soviets. It is said that this view is legally invalid, that party property has been created by the whole party and that in one way or another belongs to all communists. This is a lie: most communists do not have a share in this property. Besides, today is too difficult to find out which part of this property was created on party membership dues and which part on deductions from the state budget. I am afraid that if this problem is not solved today, people may start solving it tomorrow using less civilized methods. Recall the man who opened fire on the regional party committee in Magadan...

[Chernova] Speaking in our magazine, you voiced your hope that the party congress would initiate radical reforms. When did you lose this hope and why?

[Shostakovskiy] I pinned great hopes on the decisions of the February and March Central Committee plenums, but their results disappointed many people. Then we believed that the new election procedure would represent all trends and platforms existing in the party congress. However, no uniform procedure was adopted and party committees could manipulate the elections. There were instances of election fraud. My personal hopes evaporated at the constituent congress of the Communist Party of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic]. Some hope still remained, however, that common sense, understanding of the objective processes and people's sentiments would eventually get the upper hand. This never happened. Even the dramatic renewal of the Politburo and the Central Committee does not make me optimistic: the fact itself does not mean anything. I know many members of the new Politburo and Central Committee and, as far as I know, they can't be described as "architects of perestroyka."

[Chernova] What do you think is in store for the CPSU?

[Shostakovskiy] The CPSU may soon lose its vanguard role and become a rear guard party lagging behind the developments. There is nothing terrible about this. Some processes can move the CPSU to new actions and, possibly, a new congress will have to be convened in order to start changes.

We need an alliance of democratic forces, which will provide an opportunity to start a constructive dialogue with the centre and other political forces, a dialogue for concord on crucial issues of political stability and economic reform. Hopefully the situation in the country will start stabilizing: mostly thanks to the efforts of the democratic forces and their growing civil awareness of the responsibility to bring the nation out of the crisis.

## Democratic Platform's Gusev Interviewed

*90UN2486B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 27 Jul 90 p 2*

[Interview with Georgiy Georgiyevich Gusev, member of Democratic Platform, by TASS correspondent B. Shestakov for RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA; place and date not given: "Time Is Working for the Reformers"]

[Text] And so, my interview with Georgiy Georgiyevich. Usually they say that such people are awkward: prickly, sometimes sharp, they march fearlessly into the battle of ideas, ready to defend what is unfairly offensive even at the cost of their own well-being. During the first post-April years the search for ways to effect radical perestroyka in society led Gusev to meetings of the informal organizations. Almost none of those who attended those meetings remain today, for it could cut short a career or even, as in the case of my interlocutor, lead to legal consequences. Fighting for decisive and consistent renewal of the party, G. Gusev, a communist since 1961, found himself among those who sponsored the creation of the "Democratic Platform," and that is precisely why, I am sure, today he has refused, like others, to leave the party.

[Shestakov] So, Georgiy Georgiyevich, what are your impressions of the congress?

[Gusev] Very great and bright. For the first time I saw how people strive for power, and I saw the internal struggle and the not quite pure methods that they use. I saw a passive-conservative congress where the reaction to the speeches and results of the voting were quite discordant with one another. Ligachev speaks, and they applaud, but they vote against what he proposes. And I saw so-called democrats who passionately wanted Ligachev's election simply to prevent democratic changes in the party. Although they claimed the opposite, of course, they wanted proof that the party has supposedly not been reformed. And this present hysterics of theirs shows that the congress was a success.

In its 11 days the congress shifted to the left. I felt that not from the official statements but from conversations with delegates in the corridors. I must say that many had not previously thought that the "Democratic Platform" had any constructive proposals, some of which were

reflected in the decisions of the party forum. The congress documents are undoubtedly contradictory and they reflect the present status of the CPSU. In general I would make the bold assertion that before the congress there was no party; it is only now being created. A party of comrades and like-thinkers.

What prompted me to speak at the congress was the fact that V. Shostakovskiy remained silent about his statement that only a small part of the "Democratic Platform" favored a split in the party. This is real treachery. I do not accept this position: Call for the barricades and then avoid specific actions at one's own place in the name of democratization. We need store shelves filled with goods, not squares filled with resentful people ready to destroy but not create.

[Shestakov] Do you have hopes that the practical work of these past months will strengthen the advance made at the congress?

[Gusev] Undoubtedly. But it will depend on how the comrades who have power help in their realization. I am about to meet with one of the ministers in whose department arbitrary rule is being permitted with respect to the director of an enterprise. Slander has been refuted and the man has been reinstated in the party and the plant collective favors his appointment, but the ministry remains stubborn. And if this leader does not change his position I believe that he will personally be harming the party.

Each of us must work with determination at his own place. Everywhere people must feel: This is a communist. Not someone who dreams about a bright future but a person who strives today to make life better but also thinks about the future and about the consequences of today's decisions. A person of action and responsibility.

The main thing today is not to wait. The section of communist-reformers in the "Democratic Platform" together with the coordinating council of the "Marxist Platform" have issued a joint appeal to the country's communists. Referring critically to the results of the 28th CPSU Congress, we believe that the party possesses adequate potential to extricate the country from crisis and effect decisive renewal and democratization. We have both a strategic line for radical changes and a program for resolving urgent tasks. The first of these is during the course of the upcoming accountability reports and elections to give support at all levels to candidates who advocate reforms in the CPSU and the expansion and strengthening of horizontal structures in the party. And of course, strengthening the unity of constructively minded democratic forces.

[Shestakov] You say that we must not destroy the old but create the new. But is the one possible without the other?

[Gusev] It is necessary to destroy the old after having first cleared a new area and devised a plan for it. But it is ridiculous to draw the plan without having first built the future apartment, and to burn up what is old. In the West we observe a limited refurbishing of old buildings, structures, laws, into new ones that become, as it were, the logical continuation of the old. We are destroying things "to their foundations and then..." But now we say that we must restore the old times.

We must destroy the dictatorial, command-administrative style. But not people. As far as organizational forms are concerned.... You know, virtually all new parties and movements, even if they do culminate in words, still preserve the principle of democratic centralism. Otherwise we would have a society of stamp collectors: I want that one so I get it. This one I do not want. No. You will agree that a political organization is another matter. The more so since we have never had real democratic centralism.

The CPSU and other parties and public organizations should propose their own paths for development. And let the people decide as they choose. This is what is done throughout the civilized world. And we should do the same.

[Shestakov] Do meetings like the one on 15 July help creativity and democratization?

[Gusev] Meetings take place when people have no other opportunity to bring their problems to the attention of those who should resolve them. And this, I think, is a natural phenomenon in any democratic society. But one-sidedness in the thrust of an assembly, where anger is roused, is another matter. An opponent is given no opportunity to speak, and if he is, catcalls are hurled at him, as occurred on 25 February with A. Brachikhin, first secretary of the CPSU Sevastopol Rayon Committee first. This did little for real democratization but further for the leadership of that rayon, which was called, not fortuitously, a "nest of informals."

A destructive wave has rolled over the latest meetings, and a search for enemies is under way. Now they are the communists, at whose door the blame for one's own inaction and mistakes can be laid. Previously everything used to be blamed on the legacy of tsarism and imperialism, then on the consequences of the period of stagnation.... But I and other rank-and-file party members enjoyed no privileges and we do not want to become the enemy personified. In general, everyone is "going back full circle": First they destroyed the nobles, then the intelligentsia, and now they are demanding that the communists be put down. Bolshevism turned on its head. Tell me, what has all of this to do with real democracy?

Unruly meetings instill the idea of weakness of the state. But it really demonstrates its strength by not intervening. Let me note, however, that in some areas it was also worth "intervening." Where things started out as meetings but ended in fatalities. You know, the situation is often reminiscent of what happened in the history of Russian democracy at the beginning of the century. It is common knowledge that everything ended up with squabbles between the democrats and with the advance

of reaction, and with a revolution that established a dictatorship. It is dangerous to forget the lessons of history. However, some people are close to repeating them....

[Shestakov] And what do you think about the "troglodytic" anticommunism that has flared up in some places?

[Gusev] Any kind of "anti" is incompatible with democracy. It is interesting that this is understood perfectly well by those "dissidents" who at one time were imprisoned and driven out of the country. Recognizing the amorality of the totalitarian system, they were, as it were, not personally inclined toward communists, but did not call for them to be banned or excommunicated.... They see the beneficial changes and they can compare them with those against which they have fought. I know from experience that today's feral anticommunists are those who have snatched everything they can from the previous system.

[Shestakov] A final question, Georgiy Georgiyevich. What prospects do you see for the breakaway part of the "Democratic Platform"?

[Gusev] It depends on the situation in the CPSU. Most party members, I suggest, do not support that group, even though some are moving toward it, and each for different reasons. But the masses of communists understand that it is precisely now that a real opportunity has emerged for them to influence the course of internal transformations in the party. Moscow is not the whole of Russia, and even less the whole Union, and it is hardly likely that the entire country will blindly follow the recommendations of the dissenters.

The actions of Shostakovskiy and Lysenko and their supporters are, in my opinion, suitable for leading the country to ruin. Covering themselves with ideological considerations, together with this part of the "Democratic Platform," those who are to blame for the crisis that has taken shape in the CPSU and in society are leaving the party and abandoning their responsibility. And, as has often been the case, honest people—both communists and non-party people—remain with the "extremists."

I believe that time is working for the true supporters of reform and the real democrats.

### Government Adopts Resolution on Small Businesses

*LD0808221190 Moscow TASS in English 2203 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The transition to regulated market relations and support for the enterprising spirit call for an accelerated establishment of the network of small business capable of stimulating economic restructuring and contributing to the rapid saturation of the market with goods services.

In accordance with the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution, dated June 13, 1990, "On the Concept for the Transition to a Regulated Market Economy in the USSR," the Soviet Government adopted a resolution on measures to establish and develop small businesses.

It is suggested that the USSR ministries and departments, the councils of ministers of the union and autonomous republics, render assistance to small businesses in getting established, in material and technical support, transfer, sale and leasing out free production facilities, unused machinery and equipment, mothballed or unifinished construction projects and facilities.

Small businesses are enterprises that employ up to 200 people in industry and construction, up to 100 people in science and scientific service sector, up to 50 people in other branches of the production sphere, and up to 15 people in retail trade.

Such businesses may be established in all branches of the economy on the basis of any forms of ownership, including mixed ones, by citizens, family members and other persons engaged in joint work; by state, leaseholding, collective and joint-venture enterprises, public organizations and their enterprises, cooperatives, joint-stock societies and other enterprises and organisations that are legal persons; and by state bodies authorised to manage state property.

Small joint ventures established on Soviet territory with the particpation of Soviet and foreign legal persons and citizens shall be guided by legalization on joint ventures.

It is planned to elaborate and endorse before December 1, 1990, measures to render assistance to small businesses in the development of foreign economic activities.

It was also decided to set up a committee for supporting small- scale enterprises within the framework of the Soviet Government's State Commission for Economic Reform.

Simultaneously with adopting this resolution, the government submitted a draft resolution "On Common Principles for the Activities of Small Businesses" to the USSR Supreme Soviet.

### Poll Shows 2 Million Want To Work Abroad

*LD0808112690 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] Some 2 million Soviet citizens would like to go and work abroad. This is shown by the results of a public opinion poll. There are many young people under 30 who would like to try their luck in conditions of a market economy and free enterprise. They are mostly the humanitarian and technical intelligentsia and also highly skilled workers. In answer to the question: What attracts

you to work abroad, many of those polled mentioned two factors—the opportunity to earn good wages, and the desire to make use of one's strengths and potential.

### Commentary Urges 'Haste' To Avoid 'Collapse'

*PM0808155790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 5 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 5*

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov under the "Political Observer's Opinion" rubric: "The West Needs Perestroyka. The Question Is: How Badly?"]

[Excerpts] Yes, the West needs Soviet perestroyka. And this truth has become a banality which you feel embarrassed to repeat without adding the clarifying question: How badly? After all, political truth, unlike eternal truths, is specific and variable. Now, in the sixth year of perestroyka, in our extremely difficult circumstances, the West's attitude to perestroyka is primarily determined by the extent to which it is prepared to assist us economically. That is the opinion of a growing number of Soviet people, who no longer heed general declarations to the effect that everyone everywhere is supporting perestroyka. [passage omitted]

Things seem to be moving in the right direction, but in a fair to middling fashion, and the tempo does not match the speed of development of the crisis and the expectations of the public, excited by the prospects of "imported" manna from heaven. All this is now being exacerbated by the sight, to be seen on television every day, of harvest wasted through muddle-headedness or record bad harvests.

Of course, we are the only ones who can—and should—save ourselves, but they could lend us a hand. Our writers on economics, whom Gorbachev invited before going away on vacation, and our economists are all agreed on this. The well-known Sovietologist Marshall Goldman, armed with fresh impressions from his trip to the Soviet Union, writes: "Although many foreign observers have already realized that Mikhail Gorbachev's successes in international diplomacy have been brought to naught by economic difficulties within the country, they probably cannot see the whole picture. New signs of the fact that the economic situation in the Soviet Union has now become more serious than in the period before the beginning of perestroyka and essentially any other time since World War II, are emerging. If this does not change in the near future, the country's economy will collapse."

Delay may mean ruin. And it is primarily our country's leadership that has to make haste. Meanwhile one gets the impression that the syndrome of delayed reaction, which is so characteristic of the center's actions, is having an effect here. It is as though the main thing is not to create the impression, over there in the West, that we are jumpy and nervous. The situation is being exacerbated by the fact that the complex process of distributing and redistributing functions between the center and the Union republics, which is new to us, is going on deep inside the administrative system, invisible to public view. Both the demands and the rights of republics are growing, but who will pay off the credits that have already been taken out, and how? Who can take out new credits and pay those off? How can we change the structure of the onerous internal debt and switch from short-term onerous credits to medium-term ones which would provide a respite amid the current currency asphyxiation? The great test for the ability to withstand the breaking and splintering that is occurring in the country along all social, economic, and national lines has invaded the foreign economic sphere as well. The West, in its turn, seeing the shifting balance of power between the center and the republics, is starting to wonder: If we are going to help, then whom are we going to help? This question is no longer easy to answer.

Yes, the West and the world need perestroyka. But allow me to disagree when people add: As much as we do. This is a pathetic delusion. They have already received what is theirs, and it is impossible to take this away in East Europe even if the Soviet Union rejected perestroyka and wanted to do this. Revenge, and in this case suicidal revenge, is only possible with the apocalyptical option of a nuclear war. The collapse of Soviet perestroyka is not a question of life or death, or of further prosperity or collapse for the West in any other situation. But the collapse of perestroyka, which would intensify instability and the economic and political chaos, is fraught with additional problems for the West too, including expensive ones, for example the return of the arms race.

I repeat: The West is dependent on the Soviet Union and its new policy in many ways, but in the literal financial sense, alas, it does not owe us anything. The opposite is true. This deprives us of the right to make demands. But we have another right—to appeal for immediate assistance in a dignified way and count not just on the West's commitment to democratic values and the feeling of a common aim that is being strengthened between us, but also on the well-known bourgeois rationality that presupposes the ability to count profits and losses. Despite ideas that have been circulated in our country, there is nothing reprehensible in this, if you measure words and deeds not with the usual yardsticks but on the scale of the historical change that the new Soviet Union has already made in the world. We have a right to count on understanding and an efficacious response.

### Shcherbakov Discussess Social Protection Steps

*PM0808085390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by correspondents O. Nikitskaya and Yu. Ursov under the rubric "Social Project": "But Money Apart"]

[Text] In our country almost 30 million citizens have an average per capita income of less than 75 rubles [R] a month. What will happen to their purses after the transition to a market and, thus, the inevitable leap in prices? And what about unemployment, which will run into millions? And, in general, in what way will the state

cushion the painful shock of being catapulted into the market? This was discussed at a news conference yesterday by V. Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems.

It was reported that last week the government adopted documents on measures to support the largest group of poor people—families with many children. For those in which the average per capita income does not exceed two minimum wages, as of 1 December this year, an allowance equal to half the minimum wage, which today stands at R70, will be paid out of the state budget every month for each child under the age of six. One-time payments on the birth of a baby will amount to three times the minimum wage.

The state committee chairman spoke in detail about government measures for the social protection of budget-funded organization workers not employed in the sphere of physical production: physicians, medical personnel, teachers, etc. In particular, it is planned to increase salaries in health care as early as next year.

In reply to a question about the supposed level of unemployment V. Shcherbakov said that between 8 million and 35 million people might be released, depending on the contents of the reform of price formation. The first figure is in the event of the government concept being adopted, in which work in the service sector will be found for 4 million to 5 million people and the production sector will take on an equal number. So unemployment can be avoided. But 35 million unemployed would be a disaster for the economy.

A question from PRAVDA about legislative approval of the size of the minimum wage in the USSR Supreme Soviet. The reply stated that there are several proposals in this regard. The USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems gives a figure of R84; the USSR State Committee for Statistics—R80; and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions—R97.

### Views Unemployment Prospects

*LD0808182390*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian, in its "In the USSR Government" program at 1525 GMT on 8 August, carries a 20-minute live interview with Vladimir Ivanovich Shcherbakov, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems, on social security amid the transition to the market economy. Shcherbakov says that his committee is still preparing a relevant program which is due to be put to the Supreme Soviet by 1 September. He is using this interview to outline its likely contents.

Shcherbakov opens by talking generally about the need for radical change in a social security system which hitherto did not have to take account of unemployment, inflation, or employment outside the state sector. He divides people into two categories: those capable of work and those, such as children, pensioners and invalids, who are not. The former have to be free to work and earn as much as they want, and the latter need guarantees of income, housing, and other essentials.

For those employed in the state sector, the review must guarantee a minimum wage, while leaving employers free to add bonuses as their resources allow. Cooperatives and other private employers must pay no less than the minimum wage. He calls for profit-related pay for managers, to give them an interest in their enterprise's efficiency.

Shcherbakov goes on to talk about prices, saying that when an enterprise raises its prices, part of this increase must find its way into employees' pay packets. He calls for a "consumer basket of goods essential for normal, everyday life." The committee has put together such a basket of 300 items, covering foodstuffs, clothes, and household equipment. "We need to watch the movement of the prices of these 300 types of item and to adjust wages in proportion to how they change: a so-called method of wage indexation." He adds that the indexation principle should also apply to savings and such benefits as pensions and student grants.

Shcherbakov also talks about unemployment. "Protection of the right to work is probably the hardest question in the transition to the market. Will we have unemployment? I do not think anybody is in a position to give a sufficiently firm answer to that question today, because everything depends on which tactics we choose for the transition to the market." He outlines three policies. The first is the government's program, with its emphasis on proceeding gradually and giving temporary assistance to loss-making enterprises over the transitional period, as many of these are in the food or consumer goods sectors.

"Then, redundancies connected with structural changes, the formation of new forms of ownership and the increase in the efficiency of management under the new law will add up to about 8 million people each year, according to our estimates. What do we have at our disposal today? We have almost 2.8 million jobs which are simply vacant today in industry, where they are even working on the first shift. We are capable of absorbing appromately 7 million people on the second shift. And everybody knows about the services sector. It can absorb about 5 to 6 million quite painlessly, and there will be no problems. So, these 8 million people will have to be retrained for new work." He outlines the role of the new employment service in this activity and alludes to an employment law which, he says, "has been prepared and examined by the Council of Ministers, and three days ago was submitted to the Supreme Soviet."

Shcherbakov refers briefly to the other two options, which have been rejected. The first, the shock therapy solution, would have meant unemployment for "approximately 35 million to 40 million people. The government, as you know, has rejected that shock option for the transition to the market, and continues to insist that it cannot be adopted, acting specifically on the premise

that the payment for the transition to the market is too high." The second option, proposed by some unidentified academics, provided for the acceptance of a small measure of unemployment as a permanent phenomenon and as an incentive to employees to work hard and moderate their demands. "The government also categorically rejects that approach, believing that we do not have the right to aim at unemployment."

Shcherbakov concludes by enumerating some measures already taken to smooth the transition to the market, such as assistance to young families and invalids. This work, he says, is continuing.

### Social Program Not 'Charity'

*LD0808220490 Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] The Soviet Union has submitted for nationwide discussion a draft program of social protection of the population. It was drawn up by the State Committee for Labor and Social Issues. Its chairman, Vladimir Shcherbakov, has described the draft as a complex of economic, legal, and social guarantees, not as an act of charity. He singled out the right to work and promised the allocation of 57 billion rubles in the next five years to raise living standards and strengthen social guarantees.

### Pugo on Central Control Commission's Tasks

*PM0808120390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 3 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1*

[Report by correspondent Major B. Zyubin: "Defending Communists' Rights"]

[Text] B.K. Pugo, chairman of the CPSU Central Control Commission, held a press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists at the CPSU Central Committee Press Center on 2 August.

Touching on the creation and the work of the CSPU Central Control Commission, B.K. Pugo said that this is a completely new party organ. It comprises 165 communists, among whom workers, peasants, and the intelligentsia are broadly represented. The number of party officials has been considerably reduced in comparison with the former composition of the CPSU Central Committee Central Control Commission. It was also stressed that the CPSU Central Control Commission does not constitute a punitive organ or the party prosecutor's office.

In response to a question from a KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondent regarding the range of duties performed by servicemen within the CPSU Central Control Commission, B.K. Pugo replied that very difficult processes are currently under way within the Army and Navy. They also concern communists. The CPSU Central Control Commission is receiving many letters from communist servicemen saying that, from their viewpoint, some sanctions or measures which violate their rights as communists have been employed against them.

Servicemen elected to the CPSU Central Control Commission will mainly receive instructions connected with the conflicts that are arising within party organizations in the Armed Forces, Internal Troops, and law-enforcement organs.

### Former Censor Official Describes New Role

*PM0808141590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with Major General S.A. Filimonov, USSR Armed Forces chief military censor, by correspondent V. Yuzbashev; date an place of interview not given: "No More Military Censorship"—first paragraph is an editorial introduction]

[Text] Military censorship, along with preliminary censorship of the mass media in general, has been abolished. Our correspondent asked Major General Sergey Alekseyevich Filimonov, the last USSR Armed Forces chief military censor, to comment on this fact.

[Filimonov] Preliminary censorship is indeed being abolished. This applies to all open publications, including military publications. That is stated in the USSR Law "On the Press and the Other Mass Media." At the same time, Article 5 of this law prohibits the disclosure of information constituting a state or other secret. Responsibility for this lies both with officials and with the editorial office, editors, and authors of the published materials.

[Yuzbashev] But how then can we protect state interests and prevent leaks of information concerning defense problems and the country's security or constituting commercial or economic secrets? Obviously, neither journalists nor editorial offices are specialists in this field.

[Filimonov] I think that we can help them. We are prepared quite selflessly to provide consultations on certain issues and to respond to all similar requests. After all, one of the most important functions of our new job will be to monitor already published materials, to inform editorial offices and publishing houses about cases concerning the disclosure of classified information, and, if necessary, to notify law-enforcement organs accordingly.

### Congestion Reported at Western Border Crossings

*LD0808171190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Seventy-two hours remain before the time, declared by the government, when passage through the western borders will be suspended for Soviet citizens carrying passports with a special endorsement. As our correspondent reports from Brest, the border services are doing everything to prevent congestion and to assist people by using the simplified procedures. Twenty-three thousand passengers and tourists, as well as over 1,000 vehicles, have passed through Brest in the past 24 hours. However, even now there are fears that many of our

citizens, having filled out exit documents, will not be able to exercise their right to travel abroad before 10 August. And those who are leaving their departure to the last moment should not forget this. Tension is mounting at the border crossings every hour.

### Girenko Meets With Meshetian Turks

*LD0708153290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] Girenko, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, met representatives of the Meskhetian Turk Society, Vatan Homeland. Specific issues of improving the working and living conditions of Meskhetian Turks in the regions of the country where they reside today were raised during the conversation, as well as the general problems of these people. The society's representatives gave information about their recent meetings with Georgian public organizations. Comrade Girenko drew attention to the appeal expressed in the resolution of the 28th congress to all power bodies and sociopolitical movements not to permit actions that could lead to new conflicts. This is especially important today when preparations for the conclusion of a new Union treaty are under way. The representatives of the Vatan society expressed their readiness to bring to the notice of the society's members the results of the exchange of opinions that had taken place.

### NOVOSTI Renamed; New Tasks Outlined

*PM0808082790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 3*

[Interview with A. Vlasov, chairman of NOVOSTI News Agency, by correspondent S. Taranov; place and date of interview not given; published under the rubric "Details for IZVESTIYA": "APN Becomes IAN"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] As has already been reported, NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY (APN), which has been in existence since 1961, has been renamed NOVOSTI NEWS AGENCY [Informatsionnoye Agentsvo Novosti] (IAN) by a USSR presidential decree. Agency Chairman A. Vlasov gives details of this move in an interview with IZVESTIYA's correspondent.

[Taranov] Albert Ivanovich, how in fact are the former APN's activities changing?

[Vlasov] APN was created as a news agency for commentary and propaganda purposes and was not meant to concentrate mainly on prompt news reporting. It was thought that TASS and daily newspapers should report current events, while our duty was rather to interpret facts. At a time of ideological confrontation, there was possibly a specific reason behind this. But today we do not foist our ideas about life on anyone, being aware that USSR politics is judged throughout the world by practical deeds and not declarations. Thus, timely reporting on matters of perestroyka, on its specific results and conflicts—this is exactly what is becoming the agency's main task.

[Taranov] But the same can be said by the manager of virtually any publication or television or radio center....

[Vlasov] Every newspaper has its own specific character and range of principal topics. Compare, for instance, PRAVDA—organ of the CPSU Central Committee—with the recently established KOMMERSANT, whose name speaks for itself. An agency's information is more universal and multifaceted, furthermore we are not limited in the ways it is disseminated. Traditional publishing activity (publishing newspapers and journals in many languages of the world) is now supplemented by news broadcasting via video, radio, and television channels and worldwide computer network systems, and even for a specific customer. For instance, Stanislav Polzikov's television crew film their reports in virtually all the country's "hotspots" especially for U.S., FRG, Japanese, and Italian television companies. Our photojournalists have the capability to transmit a color photograph to any newspaper in the world from any point in the USSR in 17 minutes, using a satellite computer network. The IAN building in Moscow has a radio station which is on a par with major foreign radio stations (incidentally, during the 28th CPSU Congress, over 100 broadcasts to other countries were transmitted via this channel).

[Taranov] As a rule, new organizations demand large budget appropriations for themselves. What are IAN's expenditures?

[Vlasov] Our budget, approved by the USSR Supreme Soviet, is around R100 million per year. A lot? Yes, if you take into account past outlays on ineffective ideological campaigns. But today we ask for nothing unnecessary. News is a very expensive commodity throughout the world. Some of our editorial staffs, for example in West European countries, are already earning money for themselves, including foreign currency. Assistance to foreign journalists coming to and accredited in the USSR (there were over 4,000 of them in a year) in their work is also quite well funded.

[Taranov] Some deputies in the Russian parliament propose using IAN's facilities to set up a Russian news agency. What do you think?

[Vlasov] It stands to reason that I am totally in favor of Russia finally having its own mass media. But why must something new be invariably created at the expense of something that already exists? It is, of course, easier to break than to build. It is even easier to bandy about emotive yet meaningless phrases like "APN is a product of the cold war," as our colleague Mikhail Poltoranin recently stated. I do not want to comment on his pronouncement. I am in favor of the sphere of arguments being transformed into the plane of businesslike cooperation.

## Group Calls for Right To Use Arms, Tear Gas

*LD0808111790 Moscow World Service in Russian 0930 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Soviet Chronicle" feature of the "Soviet Union Day by Day" program; report attributed to INTERFAX]

[Text] The Political Committee of the Party of Constitutional Democrats has adopted a statement on the citizens' right to protection by means of personal weapons. The statement says that the cadets consider it necessary to acknowledge the citizen's right to acquire, keep, and also bear on his person modern means of defense, including firearms and tear and nerve paralyzing agents. The decision is based on the fact that the right of each individual to personal immunity is of priority importance, and the militia's inability to ensure each citizen protection from violence is more and more obvious. The document also notes that the state should ensure the sale of personal protection means at accessible prices.

## MOSCOW NEWS Interviews 'Tsar in Waiting'

*PM0808114890 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No 10, 3-9 Aug 90 p 11*

[Interview with Vladimir Romanov, head of the Russian Imperial House, by Natalya Davidova; place and date of interview not given: "The Tsar in Waiting"]

[Excerpts] Paris—Vladimir Romanov was born two months before the October Revolution, which tragically changed the fate of his family. His father, Grand Prince Kirill Vladimirovich, a grandson of Emperor Alexander II, ranked seventh that year on the court calendar of the Russian royal family.

And among the male successors to the throne his father took fourth place—after Nicholas II, Crown Prince Alexei and the emperor's brother, Grand Prince Mikhail.

When shots were fired on 17 July 1918 in Yekaterinburg, and in the same year near Perm, he suddenly became first in line to the throne.

Members of this populous dynasty who found refuge abroad for a long time refused to believe that their relatives were dead, and Nicholas II's cousin, Grand Prince Kirill Vladimirovich, took over the title of Emperor of All Russia abroad only in 1924.

When he died in 1938, his son and heir, Vladimir Kirillovich, assumed the duties of the head of the Russian Imperial House.

He lives in Paris in the Rue Mondovi, a small quiet street, although the neighbouring Champs-Elysees, Jardin des Tuileries and Place de la Concorde are usually filled with noisy crowds of tourists in the summer. [passage omitted]

He was brought up far away from his Motherland and yet he considers himself to be a Russian. When he was still a child, the headmaster of one of the oldest schools in Britain suggested that the boy should be sent to him to study.

His parents refused, being afraid that, though he would get an excellent education, he might lose his Russian identity. [passage omitted]

Davidova: Were you being prepared for a special mission in life in your childhood?

Romanova: As long as I can remember, I was fully prepared to fulfil the duty which I had been endowed with by fate or by God. I brought up my daughter, and am bringing up my grandson now, in the same way.

The point is not in sitting on the throne. The main justification for our existence is readiness to do good for the Motherland.

Davidova: Last May the Monarchist Party held a congress in Moscow. If they were to win a parliamentary majority they will be ready to invite you back as sovereign. Do you think this could happen?

Romanov: Russia's history is full of surprises. The monarchy might be useful to the Motherland. The role of the monarch is that of the supreme arbiter standing above all parties and groups and helping them achieve consensus.

The monarchy could even serve to slow down the break-up of the empire. Such a break-up would be unfortunate, since it was created by the efforts of many generations and over many years.

Davidova: Grand Prince, have you ever felt Russia posed a threat to your life?

Romanov: The French government has always provided me with bodyguards without my having requested this. But no one told me where the threat was coming from. To tell you the truth, God has ridden me of the feeling of fear—I have never feared for myself.

Davidova: Where do you stand politically?

Romanov: I'm on the side of those who want people to live a normal human life, with the right to freely choose where to work and to see that your work is beneficial.

Davidova: Did you work to earn your own living?

Romanov: I didn't work for the sake of money. But to understand what the life of an ordinary person was really like, I worked incognito for about a year in Britain. I made several pounds a week and rented a room. I understood how the workers lived and at that time the British workers did not live badly.

Davidova: How do you size up our political leaders? Gorbachev?

Romanov: It's hard to judge from a distance. But Gorbachev has initiated a very challenging and dangerous undertaking. I feel worried for him.

Davidova: But if you were to work together?

Romanov: The president or the head of the ruling party can be the monarch's right hand.

Davidova: Does it mean that, if you were invited, you would return?

Romanov: Under definite conditions, of course, and only if the country is no longer communist. We are Christians and we suffer from the fact that our martyred relatives were not given a Christian burial. True, lately we've been getting private condolences in letters from Russia. We receive about twenty a day. We answer all of them. [Romanov ends]

Even to this day, Vladimir Romanov, who is 73, feels pain in his heart at the thought that he "will never see his Motherland."

### Politizdat Publishes Lenin's Remarks on Glasnost

*LD0908093490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[Text] Politizdat has published the collection, "Vladimir Ilich Lenin on Glasnost." It gathers together Lenin's comments on glasnost as an inalienable factor of public life built on democratic principles as the antithesis of lies, hypocrisy, and dishonesty in politics. This collection will help collectives of journalists, using Vladimir Ilich's authority, defend the right for truth and freedom of the press and it is about those who, while calling themselves fighters for socialism, still fear glasnost.

### Environmental Crime Reportedly Growing

*LD0708222190 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] The Deputy General Procurator of the Soviet Union, Vladimir Andreyev, has said that in the past four years, environmental crime has strikingly grown. He said in an interview that during that period, the amount of unprocessed waste reaching the Volga quadrupled and the Azov Sea tripled. Air pollution increased considerably. According to Vladimir Andreyev, 68 Soviet cities are disaster zones. He believes the situation can be improved if procurators' offices are given broader rights, independent experts are invited regularly, and industries and individuals damaging the environment are severely punished.

### Journalists Propose Day of 'Civil Accord'

*LD0808155890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russia 1400 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] The journalists of LITERATURNAYA GAZETA are proposing to proclaim 19 August a day of civil accord. It would not be incorrect to say that the workers in our editorial office support this good initiative.

Holding this kind of day of civil peace is surely not accidental. Indeed, we are already destroying each other: because your mother was an Uzbek; because someone took water from someone else's river; because you were not born in my land. We have crossed the threshold dividing life and death. We could die not just as a community of people, but physically—all of us. Our country is endangered, because we have stepped into the abyss of barbaric self-destruction.

On this day let us forgive each other. Let us all ponder how to preserve the human being in each of us: one day of civil accord. May those who on that day make an attempt on the life and dignity of another person be cursed. So I remind you, 19 August is the day of civil peace. Let us all try to spend it peacefully.

### Comparison of Union Treaty Working Group

*PM0808090290*

Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian on 5 August 1990 carries in its Second Edition on page 1 a presidential instruction entitled "Instruction of the USSR President on the Preparation of a Concept of a Union Program for Transition to a Market Economy as the Basis of a Union Treaty." The SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA item has been compared with the Moscow Domestic Russian version published on page 38 of the 06 August Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, revealing the following variations:

Page 38, column two, first complete paragraph, only sentence, SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA reads: ...treaty, comprised of S.S. Shatalin, N.Ya. Petrakov, L.I. Abalkin, G.A. Yavlinskiy, A.P. Vavilov, L.M. Grigoryev, V.A. Zadornov, V.A. Martynov, V.M. Mashchits, A.Yu. Mikhaylov, B.G. Fedorov, N.P. Shmelev, and Ye.G. Yasin.

The group should.... (picking up second paragraph, clarifying names, supplying initials)

## Economic

### Expert Group on Market Economy Begins Work

*LD0808152290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] The group of experts comprising eminent economists, which has been instructed to elaborate a new concept for switching to a market economy in just one month, has started work in Moscow. It was set up according to an understanding between Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet. The authors of the concept under preparation are practically of the same

mind, the authoritative scientist Nikolay Petrakov, assistant to the USSR president, stated in a conversation with journalists.

### Internal Hard Currency Circulation Viewed

*904D0187A Moscow TRUD in Russian 27 Jul 90 p 1*

[Article by V. Kuzmishchev: "Hard Currency for Everyone?"]

[Text] **Recently TRUD informed its readers that the USSR Council of Ministers had adopted a decision on the improvement of retail trade and of public services involving hard currency transactions on the territory of the USSR. What is the background of this information?**

In this connection one usually remembers the hard currency stores of times long past when even Bulgakov made fun of them. One can also think of the black marketeers and of the social inequality caused by dividing society into those who have hard currency and those who have never even seen any.

But the issue is more serious. Our foreign trade had been practically monopolized by the government for many years, and for that reason it never played the role it should have played in a civilized country. Now that we are going to shift to a market economy and the enterprise is to become the leading actor in our economy, foreign trade must make itself known as it enters the world economy. And that is the way it is done throughout the entire world.

In practice this would enable all enterprises, without exception, to sell their production for hard currency. We already have over 17,000 plants that export their products. Starting next year, the plants will receive hard currency according to rigid norms regardless of whether the currency involved is dollars, francs, or pesetas. This will be unlike the old times when the government took all the hard currency profits and then distributed them according to the "first come, first serve" principle.

To ensure that the enterprises do not sell their raw materials or semifinished products in their wish to acquire hard currency, their allocations will depend on what may be called "the depth of processing." In other words, the plants will be paid more for their finished products that will find demand in other countries.

How does this relate to the ordinary person? Quite directly. First, 25 percent of the money can be used to meet the social needs of the employees. Second, some of the hard currency profits will be given to the local soviets. And it is up to us to make sure that the dollars are used to everybody's benefit.

When the program was under discussion it was also proposed to remove hard currency from circulation. The plants should be given rubles [R] and if they wish to have the hard currency they should buy it at the current rate. That would have helped to create a ruble with internal convertibility. In principle, this is an ideal version and would be possible in the future, but so far, with the shortage of everything, this measure would only serve to dampen the interest displayed by enterprises in the exchange of currency.

Many enterprises will have no hard currency due to the type of their production. For that reason, to even things out a currency exchange will be established where it will be possible freely to change rubles into hard currency and vice versa. The market exchange rate will be dictated by the supply and demand. At the first hard currency auctions, by the way, a dollar cost R15. Now it already costs R34. If I may be allowed to express my rather naive opinion, this low exchange rate does not reflect the real value of the ruble but rather indicates the incessantly stirred panicking. In America you can buy a can of beer or a street-car ticket for $2 and here you can live a week on R68, maybe not in the best way but you can. But this is just by way of a comment.

The enterprises will have a hard time on the foreign market without expertise, without any experience or knowledge of the world market conditions. Previously an intermediary was imposed on the enterprise, but now the foreign trade associations will base their work on market principles and they themselves will have to start looking for partners. The enterprises will be able to choose among them. Cooperatives are working on creating their own system of foreign trade within the Union framework.

And still, whether you like it or not, we have to go back to hard currency retail sales even though the Berezka stores were closed less than two years ago. Why do we have to return to what is basically the same thing? Let us start by mentioning that the Law on Emigration will be passed. By preliminary estimates, hundreds of thousands of people will be working in other countries and the state will definitely incur losses from the drain of qualified people. Then let us be compensated for this by in least one way—getting at least part of their earnings back through the system of hard currency stores. According to estimates, USSR citizens receive 30 to 35 million in hard currency in way of inheritance alone, and they have no way of spending this money anywhere in the country. A foreign tourist spends an average of R90 in our country, and five to six times that in any other country, and for the same reason—nothing to spend the money on and nowhere to spend it.

There are 200 million hard currency rubles in people's accounts now. The new decision abolishes the declaration form in which you had to indicate the sources of your hard currency income when you opened a hard currency bank account. The interest will be computed so as to attract depositors. These measures are expected to elicit a considerable influx of hard currency. Why so? A number of people have some hard currency that was given to them by their parents, for instance; certain people acquired it by means which are not quite legitimate from the point of view of the government, etc. Such people did not want to deal with government institutions

which might have accused them of something. Now nobody is going to go through our laundry.

And finally the issue we mentioned above: The enterprises and thus the workers will have their own hard currency, and come next January we are going to trade in freely convertible currency only, even with the former socialist states. In this area they expect an initial drop in earnings, followed by a steep increase.

In a word, we will have more hard currency in the country and we should see that it stays here. To ensure this, a system of so-called trade chambers—including an all-Union trade chamber—is being set up all over the country. Any enterprise or trade association will be able to participate in this. Specialized stores, such as electronics or manufactured goods stores, will be able to sell for hard currency also.

This reform, like any other—even a small one—will have its negative aspects, and it is important to foresee them and try to compensate for them.

All this was told to the journalists by USSR Council of Ministers Deputy Chairman S.A. Sitaryan.

## Plans To Deal With Hard Currency Influx Viewed

*PM0808115090 London MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 10, 3-9 Aug 90 p 10*

[Unattributed article: "How Are We Going To Cope With a Foreign Currency Avalanche?"]

[Text] Last week the government legalised the exchange of hard currency, which for years has ciruclated despite the stiff penalites in store for offenders. The new rules followed a resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers.

Academician Stepan Sitaryan, chairman of the Foreign Economic Commission of the Council of Ministers, explained that this decision was in response to our new financial cirumstances and that from next year, all Soviet exporters will have the right to keep a share of their profits, both in hard and soft currency.

Once the Supreme Soviet passes the new law on free travel to and from the USSR, the flow of curency into the country to private citizens, which is already substantial due to money orders from abroad and inheritances, will increase.

Very soon there will be a huge influx of convertible currency which will have to be regulated in some way and the government has come up with the following plan to achieve this.

After January 1 1991, every enterprise will be allowed to change ruble earnings into hard currency at a market rate at the new currency exchanges, which will combine with the existing currency auctions.

Unlike at the auctions, joint ventures and co-operatives will be allowed to use the exchanges, which the government believes, will increase the ruble's rapidly declining market value. (From 15 rubles to one dollar at the first auctions, to 30 or 35 at the most recent).

A chain of hard curency shops offering Soviet and foreign goods will be opened all over the Soviet Union for those citizens who are lucky enough to have hard currency and this business will be regulated by the All-Union Trade House.

It is expected that they will give 40 per cent of their profits to Soviet councils to fund various social services. A broader range of services will be on offer for hard currency.

We do have hard currency income already: an average foreign tourist brings about 90 hard currency rubles in the USSR, but this is little compared to industrialised countries wehre this is multiplied by five or six times.

From August 1, the dollar and the ruble will be circulated in parallel, but will this save us from financial disaster or bring us closer to it?

Stepan Sitaryan said that in theory such a step is risky because a strong currency can squeeze the weaker one out of circulation.

As far as the government is concerned, the new scheme is temporary, but at the same time invevitable and there are a lot of arguments in support of this position:

—The inflow of currency into the country is growing, but the sum total is very small and still needs to be stimulated.

—The new system may encourage enterprises to do more export trade. And there is a chance that currency turnover in the home market may halt bartering, a practice which is nonsense in a market economy.

—The scheme once in force may eventually lead to the establishing of a partly convertible ruble, stabilising its value.

But are these arguments convincing? Perhaps only if we ignore world experience, which—if we believe the economists—shows that the injections of dollars into weak economies are more a disadvantage than an advantage.

It is no wonder that the developing world is in no hurry to follow this course. India, for example, has resolutely excluded the dollar from the internal turnover.

Soviet economists have on more than one occasion calculated the possible benefits and losses. Boris Fedorov, the Russian Finance Minister wrote a special article about this for the magazine Kommunist.

The country does need hard currency, but to sacrifice the home market for this is not such a good idea.

A more far-sighted plan would be to allow the currency accounts of enterprises and citizens, free buying and selling of currencies according to their market value and no restrictions on spending the money abroad, including shopping from foreign catalogues.

In order to strengthen the ruble (and not the dollar as the government intends to do) it should be made easier for foreign businesses to invest ruble profits. This has already been proposed by financiers many times.

The governemnt is aware of these possibilities, too, so why do they refuse them? Because our currency situation is on the brink of disaster?

Because more and more often we are unable to pay for deliveries of foreign goods? Because foreign banks refuse to give us credit? In such a situation it is not easy to think about the future.

Be it as it may, the event has happened. The gong has sounded and the dollar and the ruble have taken a step towards each other. Let's hope that the proximity will not damage our ruble.

### Report on Railroad Problems, New 'Rus' Train

*PM0808142390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Report by A. Kozhukhova, D. Britikov, and A. Grigoryev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today, in accordance with tradition, we are marking Railroad Workers Day—the festival of all those who work on the railroads and subways. Moscow Metro builders are marking the festival with an important event; two new subway stations—Cherkizovskaya and Ulitsa Podbelskogo—have been handed over for service on the Kirovsko-Frunzenskaya Line.

[Reporter] The railroads account for two-thirds of freight transportation and 50 percent of passenger traffic. There is no need to say, in my opinion, how important the smooth and stable functioning of the railroads is for agriculture and all sectors of industry. Unfortunately the work of transport workers has been subject to considerable disruptions of late.

In July the shortfall in the shipment of freight totaled 6,300,000 tonnes. Only 15 of 32 railroads have fulfilled their plan. Railroad workers have run up a debt to the state as regards fuel transportation, especially coal transportation.

Now they are faced with transporting the bumper harvest. Here a maximum of initiative is called for.

In June and July the pace of passenger transportation unfortunately decreased sharply. A shortage of coaches is felt. On 1 August, 537 trains were stranded on 12 of the country's railroads. The Transcaucasus and adjoining railroads accounted for 250 of these trains. This was largely due to a traffic blockade on the territory of Georgia lasting for several days.

The damage inflicted on the national economy as a whole totals tens of millions of rubles, not to mention passengers who are waiting for trains day after day.

At least two weeks will be needed in order to restore normal rhythm on the railroads. And this must be done without delay.

It is obvious that it is necessary to adopt and apply a law on the inviolability of railroads and all other types of transport as soon as possible.

So as not to end the reportage devoted to Railroad Workers Day in a minor key, let me tell you that a new tourist train—the Rus—is currently being built in our country. You can see it on your screens. At long last it will offer passengers conditions on a par with international standards.

### Residential Construction Begins in Sayansk

*PM0908131090 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Report by N. Vidonov and Yu. Kostomarov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] An important reserve in accelerating the solution of the housing problem is individual housing construction. Such construction has begun in Sayansk, one of the youngest cities in Irkutsk Oblast.

[Reporter] Sayansk is 20 years old this year. During this relatively short period the city has basically established itself and has begun to acquire its own architectural features. During this year's spring, away from the noisy housing estates and surrounded by woods, construction has started of the first but as yet small settlement of detached houses, cottages, and bigger residential houses. In the fall the first 20 families of workers from the Khimprom Association will move in. There is no shortage of space in the Angara region so far. Therefore there will be plenty of space and comfort in the new detached-house residential development. Nine hundredths of a hectare of land has been allocated for each house so that there will be room for a small garden and vegetable plot and a garage for each house. The houses themselves will have 100 and more square meters of living space. Spacious rooms with high ceilings, enclosed loggias, a pool [basseyn], an open fireplace, and a cellar. Naturally such houses will not be cheap—25,000 rubles as a minimum. But do not be put off by this high price. The future owners will pay only half of this price, and that in installments over 25 years. There will also be subsidized houses for labor veterans and large families.

[Ya.N. Tumakov, chairman of the city soviet executive committee] We are planning to build three such residential developments. Construction of the second residential development with 1,000 houses will start in 1991. We are making provision for some 10 different designs

to ensure that the residential developments have their own character, so to speak, to avoid monotony. I believe that they will be a feather in Sayansk city's cap.

## Unused Purification Units Cause Volga Pollution

*PM0908124590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Report by Ye. Nikonov and N. Dmitrov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Ecology has unfortunately become a permanent topic in our programs and the reports which we receive from our correspondents are, as a rule, alarm signals. We have just received one such signal from the Chuvash ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic].

[Reporter] I had been warned that these effluent purification installations had never been used, but somehow I could not believe it. After all, why would they have built them?

The purification installations on Progress kolkhoz [collective farm] in Cheboksarskiy Rayon were built three years ago, and all kinds of reports and accounts which were submitted were to create the impression over the past three years that purified water was flowing into the Volga.

[F.Kh. Agisher, head of a section of the Chuvash ASSR State Committee for Environmental Protection] The State Committee for Environmental Protection has checked 133 purification installations, that is essentially all the purification installations in the republic. What was the upshot? To sum up the statistics, some 90 percent of effluent is insufficiently purified. Do you understand what this means—90 percent? To cite another figure—some 30 percent of the installations are in this condition, that is to say, they have never been used. This is money that has been buried.

[Reporter] It is a pity to waste money. Here for instance some 50,000 rubles have been wasted. But there is something that is even worse. Life in our countryside is changing, albeit slowly. The number of streets like this one, with all the urban amenities so to speak, is increasing. Kindergartens, cafeterias, and hospitals are being built. On the other hand this kind of effluent is produced and it disrupts the ecology of rural life. So a filter was built in the path of this effluent. But, as you have seen, it has never been used. So the effluent is flowing directly into this small river which in turn winds its way toward the Volga. In the Chuvash ASSR alone there are some 2,000 such small rivers. And as we have seen, it is by no means spring water which is flowing into the Volga. The problem is that this is not a unique situation. The picture is much the same in most of the rayons of the Volga basin.

Unfortunately, another kind of filter is needed. It is called responsibility.

## Statistical Handbook for 1941-1945 Declassified

*904A0518A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Jul 90 First Edition p 4*

[Article by Yu. Protasov of the State Committee for Statistics press service: "The 'Secret' Stamp Has Been Removed"]

[Text] In our tumultuous times many people at various levels argue about how well our country was prepared for the war in 1941. In the press, on TV, and on the radio they quote all kinds of data about the state of the national economy before and during the war. Some of the figures are real, some other are slightly incorrect, and still others have been created as they say out of thin air. People get confused by all this, and it is only natural that Army and Navy commanders and political officers very often have rather a hard time when talking about the war to the rank and file.

The statistical reference handbook "The USSR National Economy During the Great Patriotic War of 1941-1945," which has just been published, will help to eliminate many of their problems. The handbook was prepared for publication in 1959 and was stamped "Secret"; now it has been declassified.

The handbook contains data for 1941-1945 for the territory of the USSR within the borders as they existed during those years, using the scales and accounting and statistical methods of the time. It gives the basic indices for the national economy in rear areas and in the regions that were occupied by the Germans.

The summary chapter of the handbook presents a wealth of war-time information. Here are some of the figures. Steel production was 18.3 million tons in 1940, 17.9 tons in 1941, 8.1 tons in 1942, and 12.3 million tons 1945. In the year before the war, 145,400 automobiles were produced, 35,000 in 1942, and 74,700 in 1945. Here are the data on the most important types of military production: in 1941 (July—December) 4,800 tanks and self-propelled guns, 3,200 combat aircraft, 30,200 artillery guns of all types and calibers. In 1944 the corresponding figures stood at 29,000, 33,200, and 122,400.

At the earliest stages of the war one of the most important tasks was to relocate enormous amounts of valuables and equipment together with millions of people to the eastern parts of the country, thousands of kilometers away. From July through December 1941 a total of 2,593 enterprises were evacuated; 2.4 million head of cattle were also moved from the western regions.

The figures that illustrate the damage done to the economy and to the people of the USSR are simply shocking. Hitler's troops destroyed and burned completely or partially 1,710 cities and towns and over 70,000 villages. They burned and destroyed over 6 million buildings and made over 35 million people homeless. The invaders destroyed 31,850 industrial enterprises and disrupted production at the metallurgical

plants which had produced over 60 percent of the total amount of steel before the war.

The handbook presents the basic types of industrial production in the USSR as percentages compared to the industries of the United States, England, France, and Germany.

Most detailed information on all sectors of the national economy is provided in the chapters entitled "Industry"; "Agriculture"; "Transportation and Communications"; "Personnel Figures, Numbers of Experts and Training of Qualified Workers"; "Trade Turnover"; "Rationing During the Great Patriotic War"; "Culture and Health Care"; "Finance and Credit"; and "Basic Indexes of the Economic and Social Development of the USSR After the War."

## Agricultural

### Agricultural Developments Reported for 2-8 Aug

*LD0908031190*

[Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian on 2-8 August unless indicated otherwise. Times of broadcast, given in GMT, are in parenthesis at the end of each item.

**2 Aug**

In the Volga region near Kuybyshev the grain yield is twice as good as last year's—30 quintals per hectare. But so far only seven percent of the crop has been harvested in Kuybyshev Oblast because of a shortage of mechanizers and vehicles. Help has now started to arrive from the towns. Field work is now beset by rain. (0600)

Farmers in Zaporozhye Oblast today completed the harvest of early grain and pulse crops. A yield that is unprecedented for these parts has been brought in from an area over 730,000 hectares. On average 39.7 quintals per hectare of grain have been obtained, including 43.5 quintals per hectare of winter wheat. Against the annual plan of 1.2 million tonnes, 1.1 million have already been put into state storage. Sales are continuing. (1100)

Dzhambul Oblast: 825,000 tonnes of barley and wheat have already been threshed. Grain sales to the state are continuing. In all nearly 340,000 tonnes have been dispatched to elevators. (Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT)

**3 Aug**

The Kazan town soviet presidium has decided to introduce a state of emergency in Tataria's capital in connection with the town's unsatisfactory provision with agricultural produce. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1130 GMT)

Reports from Kazakhstan say that 900,000 tonnes of breadgrain have been procured in the republic. This is one-third more than by this time last year. It must be said that in the republic as a whole however the sale of grain is clearly being held up. Economic planners believe that this is happening because of a lack of incentives. (0800)

An alarming situation is arising on the vegetable conveyer belts of the Altay Kray. Many specialized collective farms have grown a harvest of cucumbers, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, and other crops which is a good one for Serbia. However a lull is reigning on the fragrent plantations. The rural workers are unable to cope with such a flow of vegetables and the townsfolk do not want to help. Instead of the over 3,000 people—as the labor collectives of Barnaul, Biysk, and Rubtsovsk have promised the collective farms—only one-fifth of that are arriving daily at the plantations. Indeed, one can truly say that our inveterate laziness and lack of organization can lead to immense losses of Siberian vegetables which are so much needed. (1300)

Ye. Orlov reports from Staropoltavskiy Rayon, Volgograd Oblast on the harvest there and the problems which are being encountered. Last year there was a harvest of 16 quintals per hectare, this year it is 27 quintals. However local specialists think that grain losses may be over 30,000 tonnes because of grain lying in the open and being ruined by rain. The Army is helping by transporting grain this year. Twenty trucks carry up to 400 tonnes a day and these together with the farm's own transport, deliver from 500-750 tonnes daily to the grain elevator. However, organization is bad and often the lorries stand idle. Forty railway trucks are needed daily to transport the harvest to the north, but they received only a half or a third of that amount. So grain is unloaded onto the ground. Requests for additional transport have been ingnored. At the moment 12,000 tonnes of grain are lying in the open air. (Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT)

**5 Aug**

Harvesting work is shifting steadily northwards in Kazakhstan. The main harvest will start soon in northern Kazakhstan. It is thought that the harvest in Tselinograd Oblast may be almost 5 million tonnes this year. According to specialists the harvest in all areas is huge and reminiscent of the harvest of 1956. In this year the harvest in the Kazakh virgin lands was also immense. (1200)

Ryazan Oblast: Grain crops have been cut on almost 90,000 hectares to date. This is 10 percent of the area. The gap between cutting and threshing is insignificant. The harvest ripened a month later than normal. (1300)

**6 Aug**

Rostov Oblast farmers have already sent just under 3.5 million tonnes of bread grain to state storage. Stavropol and Don bread grain growers have successuflly fulfilled state orders and are continuing deliveries of grain to

electors. Stavropol farmers have dispatched 2.23 million tonnes of grain to state storage and Kuban farmers 3.3 million tonnes. (1530)

**7 Aug**

No significant developments reported.

**8 Aug**

Kazakhstan. The state and collective farms in the southern oblasts have started the mass making of silage. Many farms have produced a good harvest of maize. The first cut is yielding from 500 quintals of green material per hectare. Hay and haylage making is continuing. (0100)

The first 50,000 tonnes of bread grain have reached elevators in Kirghizia. In all this area Kirghiz farmers intend to reap 1.72 million tonnes of barley and wheat. (0400)

Kirovograd oblast harvest is coming to an end. A total of 1.5 million tonnes of grain has accumulated on threshing floors so far. (1100)

According to a report from Kiev, only 12 million tonnes instead of the envisaged 17.5 million tonnes have reached bread grain receiving stations. (1100)

Agricultural workers of Saratov Oblast have sold the state the first 1 million tonnes of grain. For the first time this was achieved in winter bread grains. (1300)

## Growing 'Alarm' Over Wheat Harvest Reported

*LD0808172790*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 8 August broadcasts a report by commentator Semen Astakhov who says that many regions are now experiencing a spell of hot and sunny weather and that mechanizers have resumed harvesting wheat. Prior to this, according to Astakhov, there was rain in the central regions of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, in Povolzhye, and in the Urals. He says that, for example, during the week wheat was threshed only on 50,000 hectares in Volgograd Oblast whereas during the previous week this has been done on almost 500,000 hectares.

Astakhov says: "A great deal of alarm is being raised by the movement of the wheat from the fields to the places of storage and processing. Altogether in the Russian Federation 36,100,000 tonnes have now been threshed, whereas only 14,000 000 have been delivered to state storehouses. Thus 22,000,000 tonnes have piled up at collective and state farms. The elevators are overloaded. Much wheat is lying in the open air. It is true, specialists are saying that that isn't all that terrible. Only a little grain will germinate, and so far there is no way of getting away from these natural losses."

Astakhov goes on to say: "In the Ukraine, too, considerably less wheat has arrived at wheat reception centers than by this time a year ago. Our Kiev correspondent believes that lack of confidence in the promises of the republican government is one of the reasons. After all, last year many of the promised combined fodders, equipment, and building materials were not supplied in sufficient quantities to the farms."

He concludes by saying: "Sowing of winter crops has been started not only by the northern regions, as usual, but even a few farms of Povolzhye and even of the Northern Caucasus."

## States of Emergency Declared in Many Regions

### In Yaroslavl Oblast

*PM0808110190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Report by Yu. Chernyak from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] A bumper crop of both grain and vegetables has ripened in the country's fields. It is important to harvest and store it. Unfortunately harvesting work is being held up as a result of a shortage of transport facilities and manpower, as a USSR Council of Ministers resolution has noted.

In Yaroslavl Oblast, for instance, a state of emergency has been declared in connection with the harvest. But this is not the main point. It is more important, in my opinion, that the right combination of moral and material incentives for those who help agricultural workers has been found here.

[Chernyak] Let me say first of all that it was a session of the oblast soviet of people's deputies which adopted the decision to declare a state of emergency in the oblast's fields. It was not an easy decision to make. But the deputies realized that there was no other solution. The harvest was on the brink of destruction. What is more, it is a long time since agricultural workers have seen such excellent crops of grain, vegetables, and potatoes. It became obvious that the utterly exhausted Yaroslavl countryside simply could not manage without outside help. The situation was bad enough when, as if to compound the problems, heavy rains set in. Grass on almost half the area in the oblast has still not been cut. The procurement of all types of livestock feed is lagging. And all the work to be done in the fields has coincided.

Special workers and student detachments, troops, and students from military schools are hastily being organized.

We have selected an average farm—the Tunoshna sovkhoz [state farm]—to take a look both at the problems encountered and at how the people who live here seek to cope with them.

[S.I. Zamorayev, Tunoshna sovkhoz director and oblast soviet deputy] We did not wait for the declaration of the

state of emergency. We issued an appeal to plants and factories via the news media, and I must say that people have responded. They have responded because we have offered them our terms, and the terms are very attractive. Whatever people earn here is to be paid in kind rather than in money. That is to say they can have potatoes, or cabbage, or other vegetables instead of the money they would have earned.

[Chernyak] That is all very well, but where are people to store all this if they earn a lot?

[Zamorayev] I can tell you that we have made provision even for this. If a worker earns a few quintals of potatoes we can guarantee that we will store them for him and issue them bit by bit, as and when he needs them. We have the storage facilities.

[Chernayak] Sergey Ivanovich, has anything changed since the state of emergency has been declared?

[Zamorayev] I can tell you frankly that after the declaration of the state of emergency we countryfolk have felt that the townsfolk have responded wholeheartedly to the appeal of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. I can even tell you that people have called me on the telephone: "Sergey Ivanovich, how can we help you? Would you like us to come on Saturday and Sunday?" Even plant directors are calling. We have also received a call from a military school. I have a feeling that, making common cause, we will succeed. I believe that it is necessary to bring in the grain by pooling our resources.

### In Voronezh Oblast

*LD0808080790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] An alarming report has been sent by our correspondent in Voronezh. It is believed that a session of the Voronezh Oblast Soviet of People's Deputies today will announce a state of emergency in the oblast in connection with the harvest. At present 40 percent of grain crops have been threshed. The crop is excellent, 27 quintals per hectare, and moreover the quality of the grain is better than last year's. The barley is good, and this is feed for stock raising. But the recent torrential rain and hail have badly damaged the fields, and the remaining grain has to be harvested with great difficulty. Things are totally bad with vegetables; 500 hectares have had to be plowed in or left for livestock feed. In rural areas there is a lack of machine operators, combines are standing idle, and there are insufficient drivers. A state of emergency will make it possible to involve the urban population and enterprises' trucks in the work and to take all measures to save the harvest.

### In Chelyabinsk Oblast

*LD0808092190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] An emergency situation was introduced today in Chelyabinsk Oblast for the period of gathering in the harvest. Such a decision was adopted by the presidium and the executive committee of the oblast soviet of people's deputies. It notes that local farms have grown good harvests of potatoes, vegetables, fodder crops, and cereals. Oblast, town, and rayon emergency committees have been set up to prevent the harvest from being ruined. They are granted the right to recruit resources and necessary machinery from all work collectives, irrespective of departmental subordination, for gathering in the harvest and to suspend activities of enterprises and organizations in special circumstances.

## Fuel, Equipment Shortages Jeopardize Harvest

*PM0908102690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1*

["Topical Interview" with N.V. Krasnoshchekov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Procurements, by K. Lysenko; place and date not given; under the "Harvest Time" rubric: "The Harvest Is Spoiling. Who Is To Blame?"—first three paragraphs are an editorial introduction; last paragraph is an editorial conclusion]

[Text] We have the detachments but we do not have the fuel. In July alone kolkhozes [collective farms] and sovkhozes [state farms] failed to receive 175,000 tonnes of gasoline and 616,000 tonnes of diesel fuel.

The harvest is in full swing but machines are laid up. Since the beginning of the year agriculture has failed to receive spare parts worth 300 million rubles [R]. Who is to blame for this?

Is the material and technical provisioning of the harvest improving? We asked these questions to N.V. Krasnoshchekov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers State Commission for Food and Procurements.

[Krasnoshchekov] There are not as yet too many grounds for optimism. Judge for yourselves: Agriculture has been supplied with spare parts worth R300 million less than planned for the current year, and R900 million less than last year. Industry is failing to supply goods to meet the equipment quotas allocated to the agro-industrial complex. Farms are still waiting for 2,800 grain harvesting combines and 2,400 reapers. Agriculture has failed to receive 17,000 trucks. The situation as regards grain cleaning and drying equipment is even more complex. Some 5,700 grain drying points have been waiting for equipment since 1987.

[Lysenko] Who specifically is letting agriculture down with supplies of spare parts and equipment?

[Krasnoshchekov] Since the beginning of the year the Krasnoyarsk Grain Harvesting Combine Production Association, the "Rostselmash" Production Association, the "Kherson Combine Plant" Production Association, the Yeletskiy Tractor Hydraulic Unit Plant, the Lyubertsy "Ukhtomskiy Plant" Production Association, and

many others have failed to fulfill their commitments for the production of and shipment to the countryside of equipment and spare parts.

[Lysenko] What is the situation with fuel supplies for the countryside?

[Krasnoshchekov] In July the agro-industrial complex failed to receive 175,000 tonnes of gasoline and 616,000 tonnes of diesel fuel.

[Lysenko] How could this have happened? After all six weeks ago the country's government allocated fuel quotas from the reserve for the countryside.

[Krasnoshchekov] There was no actual fuel behind these nominal quotas. This year 1,679 less tonnes of gasoline have been produced, for instance, than for the same period last year. Hence all the difficulties.

[Lysenko] Who specifically is falling down on deliveries of gasoline?

[Krasnoshchekov] According to the latest figures the "Groznefteorgsintez," "Bashneftekhimzavody," and "Kuybyshevnefteorgsintez" Production Associations; the Volgograd Oil Refinery; the Lisichansk Oil Refinery; and the "Azneftekhim" Production Association are showing a lag in gasoline production as against the plan. Moreover, railroad workers are putting us in a spot. In July, 1.5 million tonnes of petroleum products were not shipped from oil refineries and bases. There were holdups with fuel shipments on the Northern, Kuybyshev, Volga, North Caucasian, and Sverdlovsk Railroads.

[Lysenko] What is to be done with the harvest which may be left in the fields owing to the lack of fuel?

[Krasnoshchekov] The government is now taking emergency steps to seek additional fuel resources—actual resources rather than quotas this time. The problem should be solved in the next few days. The harvest is indeed in danger. Everyone involved in the material and technical provisioning of the countryside must realize that we are not entitled to abandon the peasants to the will of fate and leave them on their own with this year's grain.

From the editorial office: It remains to hope that this time agriculture will receive real assistance as well as quotas. This has not happened yet. Meanwhile approximately 50 million tonnes of grain, according to specialists' estimates, is lying in the open air. Let us recall that in these storage conditions one percent of the harvest gathered is lost every day. Can we tolerate that?

## Transport Problems Hampering Volgograd Harvest

*PM0808102590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Aug 90*

[Report by Ye. Orlov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Comrades, the most important task, the most complex problem, and the most urgent matter for our country today is bringing in the harvest. Alas, again we will not be able to avoid losses. The main point is to reduce these losses to a minimum. Here is a report from Volgograd Oblast.

[Reporter] We are in Staropoltavskiy Rayon on the outskirts of the oblast, some 300 km from Volgograd.

Yields of 16 quintals of grain per hectare were achieved here last year; this year it is 27 quintals. Such a harvest would appear to be a cause for joy. But let us not be too hasty. Right now rayon specialists are estimating that grain losses may top 30,000 tonnes. Here the grain is lying in the open near the threshing floor. Judging by the puddles, it has recently rained heavily. This means that part of the harvest has already perished.

Here is another threshing floor. It belongs to the Kirov collective farm. Until recently 10,500 tonnes of grain were lying around here.

[A.F. Pryakhin, chief agronomist] This year we are getting more help than ever before from the Soviet Army. More than 20 army trucks are working here, shipping out up to 400 tonnes of grain per day. In addition we have our own farm vehicles—a KAMAZ truck and trailer, two KAMAZ trucks belonging to the Selkhozkhimiya Association, and one KAMAZ truck belonging to Selkhoztekhnika. Jointly we manage to get between 500 and 750 tonnes of grain per day to the elevator.

[A.N. Sipatov, oblast soviet executive committee chief specialist for industry and transport] Having assessed our potential, we believe that we can manage with the transport facilities we have at our disposal. It is not so much the transport facilities themselves and their quality which are important but the organization of their utilization.

[Reporter] This is absolutely right. It is skill rather than quantity which matters. But what do we see in practice?

This is the Gmelinskiy elevator. Army trucks are standing around idle. What is the reason?

[I.V. Nadvornyy, elevator director] The reason is that the schedule which has been issued to every farm is being ignored. Therefore grain deliveries to elevators are not proceeding evenly. We are working from 0600 hours in the morning to 0200 hours at night. However, virtually no trucks with grain arrive at the elevator between 0600 and 0830 hours in the morning and between 2200 and 0200 hours at night.

[Reporter] We were even more amazed to see mountains of grain lying in the open immediately in front of the elevator. The grain reception point is unable to pass on the grain fast enough. What it needs is 40 railroad freight cars per day to ship grain to the north. It is receiving only one-half or even only one-third of this number. So it is forced to heap up grain in the street.

[Nadvornyy] We have cabled the railroad administration in Saratov. In addition a copy of the cable went to Comrade Gergel, chief of the Astrakhan section of the railroad. So far there has been no response.

[Reporter] This means that the losses are right here before our very eyes.

[Nadvornyy] It must be pointed out that these are secondary losses. The primary losses are what farms do not manage to harvest or ship out from threshing floors on time. And here, at the transhipment point, there are again 12,000 tonnes of grain lying out in the open.

[Reporter] What can you say: It seems that it is more convenient to buy grain for foreign currency than to preserve your own.

## Shortages, Unpreparedness Blamed for Troubles

*PM0808115990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1*

[Report by G. Piskarev, leading inspector of the USSR People's Control Committee: "Too Many Cooks...."]

[Text] The mass media have tired of reporting on combine harvesters standing idle and on blockages along the grain routes. Everyone is well aware of the reasons for the harvest troubles: the fuel and manpower shortages and the unpreparedness of harvesting and transportation facilities for the harvest.

People's Control Committee inspectors now at the hot spots of the harvest testify that there has been no fundamental change in the organization of the matter.

It is too late now to say that enterprises of the USSR Ministry of Automotive and Agricultural Machine Building failed to supply agriculture with more than 1,500 Don-1500 and Niva reapers and combine harvesters in the first half of the year, while plants of the Ministry of the Chemical and Petroleum Refining Industry failed to supply more than 1 million v-belts and fan belts—you cannot repair the omission.

The Russian state concern for the supply of petroleum products (N. Chinaryan, deputy chairman of the board) is slow to resolve questions of coordinating supplies of fuel and lubricants among the country's regions. In July, eight Union republics were not supplied with approximately 150,000 tonnes of gasoline, including a shortfall of more than 50,000 tonnes in the Ukraine.

People in our country have recently begun to blame the fuel shortage most frequently on a drop in its production and the failure to commission in-depth oil-refining installations. Well, such a trouble does exist. But it is unforgivable when, in addition to this, enterprises of the chemical and petroleum refining industry (V. Kulagin, deputy ministry) have permitted above-normative losses of oil and petroleum products to the tune of 600,000 tonnes.

There are tens of thousands of tonnes of motor fuel which the countryside is so short of at plants in Bashkiria, Kuybyshev, Lisichansk, Perm, Omsk, Mozyr, and Gorkiy. There is nothing to convey it. There is an alarming situation concerning the dispatch of petroleum products in the "Groznefteorgsintez" Association and at the Volgograd and Saratov plants.

There are, in general, major and just complaints against railroad workers (A. Sidenko, USSR deputy minister of railways). In recent days reports of delays in supplying railcars to transport wheat and barley of the new harvest have been coming in from many rayons of Stavropol and Krasnodar Krays and Rostov, Volgograd, and Astrakhan Oblasts.

And things are no better with the water transport workers (N. Gorkov, RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] deputy minister of the river fleet). Ships containing petroleum products are lying in some berths waiting to be unloaded, while in others the loading of grain is being held up owing to disrepair. True the "grain" berths are under the jurisdiction of the RSFSR Ministry of Grain Products (A. Kudelya, deputy minister), but this gives little joy. According to specialists' estimates, losses of traffic capacity in grain shipments by river transport during the present shipping season will total more than 1 million tonnes.

## Crop Threatened by Storage, Transport Problems

*PM0808115390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Report by G. Svecherevskaya, V. Yakanin, and V. Korovin from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [First reporter] Serpukhovskiy Rayon has long been known as Moscow Oblast's garden. It is located in the fertile floodlands of the Oka River. And the Bolshevik sovkhoz [state farm] is a leading vegetable-growing enterprise. This year an especially abundant crop has ripened in its fields. This would appear to be a cause for joy. After all a good harvest is the best reward for farmers' hard work. But there is no evidence of joy. The vegetable growers' words are full of bitterness and resentment.

[D.I. Rotastikov, head of a section of the Bolshevik Sovkhoz] We have great problems with marketing even this excellent produce which you can see here. Currently we are picking dill and onions and other types of vegetables. But the problems are endless. We dispatch vegetables to the base. The base director issues instructions to accept the vegetables. The truck draws up at the base and they turn it back. The trucks come back from you—from Moscow—with the produce which we dispatched....

[Second reporter] And we have no vegetables, no greens....

[First reporter] And all this is happening while the shelves of vegetable stores are virtually empty. And on the market this small bunch of carrots regularly fetches a ruble. And dill costs 50 kopecks. When you see the sovkhoz fields with your own eyes, whole fields of top-grade vegetables waiting to be picked, vegetables which will soon be plowed in, you feel like shouting "Help the countryside! It is waiting for you!"

[Announcer] Yes, you feel like shouting. Have you noticed the different approaches to the problem of assistance to the countryside adopted in Yaroslavl, Belgorod, and Moscow Oblasts. Do you recall how much has been said about the need for joint efforts both by Moscow City and Oblast leaders? It is time for them to pass on to actions, otherwise dill and carrots will not be the only things we lack.

## Kazakh 'Boycotting' Grain Procurement System

*PM0808145990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Report by V. Glukhovtsev and V. Lazarevskiy from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Reporter] This is the threshing floor of the Progress State Farm in Alma-Ata. It is choking with excess barley and wheat, especially barley. Incidentally, the situation is much the same on many other threshing floors on many farms in southern Kazakhstan. Meanwhile the combine harvesters are still in the fields and grain is still pouring in.

On the other hand, the Kopa grain reception enterprise here, one of the biggest in the Semirechye region, looks deserted. In good years over 100,000 tonnes of grain were delivered to Kopa. During this year's bumper harvest only 8,000 tonnes of grain have been delivered so far.

A paradoxical situation is developing as regards procurement. Kazakhstan possesses large capacities for grain reception and processing. However they are empty, as you can see. And all because farms, as a consequence of the switch to economic accountability, are holding onto the grain, retaining it at threshing floors—especially feed barley—because they are afraid of being short of animal feed during the winter.

More than 50,000 tonnes of barley have accumulated on threshing floors in the rayon, as you know. Tell me, why don't you take this barley to grain reception points?

[V.E. Mokk, deputy chairman of Dzhambul Rayon Agro-Industrial Association] We are holding on to this barley because we have a contract for the delivery of wheat above all. So we are delivering wheat and holding on to the barley, keeping it for mixed feed, for feed purposes.

[Reporter] You will feed it in the form it is in?

[Mokk] Yes, we will crush it and feed it to livestock.

[Reporter] As far as I know, it would be better to sell it to the state to be turned into mixed feed.

[D.N. Nurzhaubayev, general director of Alma-Ata Oblast Grain Product Association] Yes, it could be made into good feed. But we do not have the right to force people to sell the barley to the state.

[Mokk] The problem is that if we sell the barley to the state, we have no guarantee that we will be able to obtain mixed feeds. This is what makes farm chairmen and the rayon as a whole to proceed with caution.

[Reporter] In past years grain product associations have sometimes failed to honor their contract commitments to farms and have thus lost their trust. Now, having acquired autonomy, the state and collective farms are essentially boycotting the system. In my opinion, this is being done to the detriment of the state's interests, to the detriment of the state and collective farms themselves, and to the detriment of the grain product association system. After all, it is well known that the nutritive value of balanced mixed feed is more than twice that of barley. Furthermore, I am convinced that part of the barley will perish during storage on farms, particularly during the winter.

So what is the solution?

It would seem that the two major departments responsible for the fate of the harvest should be able to resolve this problem for the sake of their common interests and for the sake of the grain.

## Moscow Moves To Solve Vegetable, Fruit Problem

*PM0808103990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Unattributed report under the rubric "At the USSR Council of Ministers": "Fruit and Vegetables for the Cities of the North"]

[Text] The USSR Government examined the question of improving the organization of supplies of fruit and vegetables to the population of northern cities and industrial centers and adopted a corresponding resolution 4 August.

On the basis of the need to urgently resolve this task and to develop an effective mechanism of market relations in fruit and vegetable farming, the USSR Council of Ministers has consented to the proposal from the Tsentrosoyuz [Central Union of Consumer Societies] and the USSR Union of Consumer Cooperative Production Cooperatives to set up trading and purchasing associations to supply potatoes, fruit, and vegetables over and above state shipments to the cities of Murmansk, Arkhangelsk, Tyumen, Petrozavodsk, and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. The trading and purchasing associations will be given complete autonomy in shaping their work program, in selecting their suppliers, in determining the conditions on which they will buy produce, in

setting prices, in distributing the profit left after payments to the state, and in other spheres of activity in conformity with the provisions laid down by the USSR law "On the Cooperative System in the USSR."

The USSR Defense Ministry and the USSR Ministry of Civil Aviation have been instructed to allocate to trading and purchasing associations on demand the necessary number of aircraft to transport fruit, vegetables, and other agricultural produce, and to lease out aircraft, including military transports.

The USSR Ministry of Railways and Union republic governments have been instructed to resolve the questions of providing railcars, ships, refrigerated vehicles, and other means of transport to ship fruit and vegetables by both trading and purchasing associations. They can also lease refrigerated boxcars, vegetable-carrying ships, refrigerated vehicles, and other means of transport.

Republic and local soviet organs should give all possible assistance to trading and purchasing associations in their work to purchase fruit and vegetables and should strictly put a stop to any cases of illegal action restricting their activity.

## Scientific

### 'Mir' Cosmonauts Prepare for Return Flight Home

#### Cosmonauts Brief Successors

*LD0808120790 Moscow TASS in English 1153 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin, who will return to the earth tomorrow, are giving the last instructions to Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, members of the seventh space mission.

The cosmonauts will today complete a three-month biotechnical experiment during which they grew crystals of various proteins for further medical studies.

The cosmonauts will return to the earth on board the Soyuz TM-9 spaceship. They will transfer information and materials from investigations.

The results of medical checkup show that the four cosmonauts are healthy.

The mission continues according to schedule.

#### Return of Cosmonauts Detailed

*LD0808145990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Today cosmonauts Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin completed preparations for the return to earth. They have stowed the equipment which is to be returned and the results of the experiments staged in orbit in the descent vehicle of the Soyuz TM-9 craft. Members of the new crew—Manakov and Strekalov—have been energetically helping them. Together they have staged a number of experiments, including taking photographs of the surface of the earth. A unique handover of the station to the new crew continued as well. Presently, all four cosmonauts are going to bed because their working day is to start tomorrow at 0330 Moscow time [2230 GMT 8 Aug].

Around 0800 [0400 GMT] the Soyuz TM-9 craft is to move away from the station and at approximately 1134 [0734 GMT] it is to land in a designated area of USSR territory. In spite of being busy, the cosmonauts today devoted several minutes to the All-Union Radio, which you will be able to hear in our next bulletins.

#### Cosmonauts To Land at 0733 GMT

*LD0908032790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0230 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[From the "120 minutes" program]

[Text] If everything goes normally, and I hope it will, in a few hours time at 1133 hours [0733 GMT] our cosmonauts Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin, who have worked in orbit for slightly less than six months, will land near the (?marker). Out of 520 experiments, 506 have been completed as well as two unplanned space walks, including repairs to the ship and the station's hatch.

In general they have worked successfully and it is acknowledged that we may expect a successful landing. A few hours ago they moved into the transport ship.

Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov are left on the station.

#### Soyuz TM-9 Successfully Undocks

*LD0908060490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0412 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[From the "Mayak Morning Panorama" program]

[Text] We are returning to the events on the space orbit. We go over to our special correspondent Vladimir Bezayev at the flight control center.

[Bezayev] Well, the undocking has already taken place. They reported that here at 0809 [0409 GMT], and now the spaceship is something like 20 meters away from the station. One can see an amazingly beautiful picture. In the right-hand corner of the huge screen the Mir station is floating. This means that the TV camera has been switched in the Soyuz TM-9 spaceship.

#### Landing Schedule, Progress Reported

*LD0908064790*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0512 GMT on 9 August carries a 3.5-minute report by correspondent Vladimir Bezayev from the space flight control center in Baykonur.

Correspondent Bezayev reports that the Mir orbital complex and the Soyuz TM-9 spaceship which have already separated are flying between South America and Africa. A streamer has lit up indicating that Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin have finished their flight around the Mir orbital complex and photographing it.

Bezayev reports that in "literally 20 minutes" the cosmonauts will start the descent which will last approximately one hour. Then at 1039 hours 54 seconds [0639 GMT] the engine should switch over to braking mode. It should operate for exactly 263.3 seconds.

Bezayev reports details of the landing schedule as follows:

"1107 Moscow time: separation of the crew compartment, then separation of the descent craft;

"1110: the descent craft should enter the atmosphere;

"1112: start of the controlled descent;

"1119: the parachute should open; and

"1134: landing of descent craft should take place 72 km northeast of Arkalyk in Kazakhstan."

### Cosmonauts' Landing Reported

*LD0908095190*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0725 GMT on 9 August interrupts a program of music with an announcer saying that the station is going over to special correspondent Vladimir Bezyayev at the flight control center in connection with the imminent return to earth of cosmonauts Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin.

Bezyayev opens this 10-minute report by saying that eight minutes and 56 seconds remain before the landing is due to take place. The descent module of the Soyuz-TM9 spacecraft is currently about 3 kilometers above the earth. He goes on to say: "The parachute opened at precisely the appointed time, at 1119. But the surprising thing is that usually when the craft has entered the dense layers of the atmosphere and fallen into the cloud of plasma, radio communications are interrupted and are resumed only when the parachute has opened and it is reattached so that it hangs symmetrically. But as it turned out radio communications resumed before the parachute opened. We'll now try and find out what actually happened. Here with me is Aleksandr Laveykin, pilot cosmonaut of the USSR, someone who has experienced for himself all the delights of a return to earth following a lengthy stay in conditions of weightlessness. So what happened, Aleksandr? Why do we not have communications now, strange as it may seem, whereas the helicopters and the aircraft of the search and rescue service are maintaining communications with the crew? Why did radio communications take place then, but are not there now?

Laveykin responds: "The fact is that to start with the descent module was hanging, as it were, on its side—it was attached to the parachute by its side. Then it was reattached and the module then hung symmetrically. An antenna is attached to one of the strings. Using this antenna the crew has now established communications with the crew of the aircraft. This is essential for the following reasons: First of all the crew of the aircraft have to be sure that everything is alright with the crew. And secondly, the crew of the aircraft and the helicopters are constantly reporting the height to the crew. Naturally the crew itself does not see how far there remains to the ground, and they must therefore be prepared for the meeting with the ground—it is a fairly perceptible bump."

Laveykin says that this will take place in about seven minutes' time. In the meantime the crew are preparing for the landing. Soon, he says, the VHF antenna will be unfolded and it is quite possible that direct communications between the flight control center and the crew will be resumed.

Bezyayev then asks: "How often does it happen that radio communications—and quite good ones at that—make a sudden appearance after the craft has emerged from the plasma cloud?

Laveykin replies: "You know, it happens nearly every time, nearly every time. It is due to many reasons—the atmospheric parameters, and so on."

Bezyayev talks to Laveykin about how the cosmonauts must be feeling at this moment as they await the landing and the feelings of delight that await them when they open the hatch and smell the scents of the earth. They speak of the industrial value of the experiments that have been carried out during the mission and the results of which are being brought back to earth.

Bezyayev says: "On this occasion the results are truly unique—particularly with the semiconductor crystals. This is the future not only of our electronics but of world electronics, too. The crystals are of amazing purity and of amazing quality, and when we talk about the commercial profit which space exploration has now started to achieve it is difficult even to calculate the priceless treasure they have brought." He speaks in general terms about the ecological benefits, and goes on: "No doubt one should say—(Yuriy Pavlovich) Semenov, the general designer of space rockets is present here—he said that at the beginning a profit of 105 million rubles was expected, but because of the late launch of the Kristall module it is somewhat smaller. We can now say that 80 million [as heard] have been spent and approximately 36 million have been obtained, so the flight has not merely covered its own costs but has brought some concrete profit. And a profit on top of that, of course, in terms of the unique photographs which have been made from orbit."

Bezyayev and Laveykin further comment on the feelings of cosmonauts on touch-down. Bezyayev then says: "The

display panel now shows 1 minute and 47 second to touchdown. The arrangements have been changed now, too, and the crew will not fly to Baykonur but are due to return directly to Zvezdnyy Gorodok where they will meet their wives and friends."

After discussion of Balandin's undoubted excitement at the prospect of meeting his six-month old son for the first time, Laveykin says: "The crew is on the ground.

Bezyayev confirms this and goes on to say: "We congratulate Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin on their return to earth. Doctors, friends, comrades, and specialists will now look after the cosmonauts and in a few hours' time they will have a warm meeting at Zvezdnyy Gorodok."

### Cosmonauts Land Safely

*LD0908081990 Moscow TASS in English 0811 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Soviet cosmonauts Anatoliy Solovyev and Aleksandr Balandin returned safely to earth today from their almost six-month mission on board the Mir space station.

They touched down at 1135 Moscow time [0735 GMT] near Arkalyk, in Soviet Kazakhstan.

Cosmonauts Gennadiy Manakov and Gennadiy Strekalov, who blasted off to the Mir station on August 1, will stay there under December this year.

### Six 'Cosmos' Satellites Launched 8 Aug

*LD0908074390 Moscow TASS in English 0738 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—The Soviet Union on Wednesday launched six satellites: Cosmos-2090, Cosmos-2091, Cosmos-2092, Cosmos-2093, Cosmos-2094, and Cosmos-2095. All satellites were put into orbit by one Tsiklon booster rocket.

The satellites carry scientific equipment for space explorations.

All the six satellites travel along orbits close to the calculated ones with the following initial parameters: period of revolution—113.8 minutes;

apogee—1,432 km;

perigee—1,390 km;

orbital inclination—82.6 degrees.

In addition to scientific equipment, the satellites have radio systems for the precise measuring of orbit elements and radio systems to transmit data to the earth on the operation of on-board instrumentation.

### Assurances Given of Nuclear Station's Safety

*PM0708132390 Oslo AFTENPOSTEN in Norwegian 2 Aug 90 p 10*

[Article by NOVOSTI correspondent Konstantin Ivanov: "Worries About Soviet Nuclear Power"]

[Text] Concern over the fact that Norway has no detailed information about what is to happen in connection with the expansion of nuclear power on the Kola Peninsula has been expressed on a number of occasions recently in the Norwegian press. According to deputy director Sergey Yermakov of the Soviet Information Bureau for Nuclear Energy, there is no reason for such concern.

Today there is one nuclear power station with four reactors of the VVR-440 type operating on the Kola Peninsula. Each of the reactors has a capacity of 440 megawatts. This nuclear power station is 20 years old and according to estimates will have come to the end of its useful life in the course of the next 10 years. That is why it has been decided that two new VVR-1000-type reactors will be built by the year 2000. The two reactors will both have a greater capacity (1000 megawatts each) and better safety systems than the earlier reactor type. The VVR-1000 has a protective capsule around the reactor in case of accident. It was a system such as this which prevented people from being exposed to radiation after an accident at Three Mile Island in the United States in 1979.

Sergey Yermakov said that the reliability of the new nuclear reactors on the Kola Peninsula will be guaranteed both through improved reactor construction and a secure foundation. The bedrock on the Kola Peninsula can carry the heaviest industrial enterprises, such as a nuclear power station for example.

"The development of nuclear energy on the Kola Peninsula will also perhaps help to promote a good relationship between people and the nuclear power station," Yermakov said. According to research, 80 percent have a positive attitude to such a project.

In Karelia where there have been plans to build two nuclear powers stations with two VVR-1000 units, the situation is different. To date test drillings have been done and geological surveys have been carried out. But not much advance work has been done. The main reason for the unforeseen stoppage is that the local population has opposed the construction of the nuclear power station. Today this issue has become a major item in negotiations between the authorities in Karelia and the Soviet Government. For the time being at least it is too early to say what will be decided. But Yermakov takes the view that nuclear energy is the only realistic base for the further development of Karelia's most important industry—timber processing.

We will only find out whether the experts will succeed in persuading the population of Karelia once an opinion poll has been carried out at the end of 1990. "At any rate it will be impossible to build a nuclear power station in

the region without the consent of a majority of the local population," was Yermakov's assurance.

## Military

### Press Briefing Airs Military Policy Issues

*LD0808200690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Video report on press conference held in Press Center of USSR Ministry of Defense; date not given; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] What is the essence of the CPSU's military policy at the present stage? This problem in various aspects constantly attracts the attention of journalists. The press conference on military questions in decisions of the 28th party congress was opened by Colonel General Shlyaga, member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy. The military resolution of the congress sets out the political, socio-economic, and military ideas which evidently still need to be expressed in legislative form in the new Union treaty. However, already today some republican parliaments are declaring their right to a national army and are changing the Union-wide principles of staffing the Armed Forces. Comments on this situation were given by members of the CPSU Central Committee.

[G.A. Karunin in lieutenant's uniform] The Armed Forces of our state should be Union-wide, there should be a single Ministry of Defense. Clearly historical experience tells us that we should not separate the Armed Forces and reduce the structure of the Armed Forces to the level of principality militias. And the policy that has been adopted, say, by members of parliament in certain parts of the country is evidently not entirely far-sighted; after all, look what happened when in the Ukraine they first of all adopted a resolution, then they were forced afterwards to adopt an appeal saying: Comrade Ukrainians, for the time being serve where you have been called up.

[Shlyaga] The CPSU favors centralized leadership in matters of defense, security, and military organizational development. I just want to explain a bit the idea expressed by this comrade [gestures toward another uniformed man] and on the basis of a single Union legislation.

[Correspondent] And so, whereas the military reform is in effect under way in the Armed Forces, as far as legislation is concerned people are striving to start it in a number of Union republics, despite the fact that the USSR Supreme Soviet has not examined the concept of such a reform or the structure of a Union-wide military budget. It looks very much like putting the cart before the horse. It will be difficult to arrive at a law-governed state in this way.

### Shlyaga Discusses Party Membership in Army

*LD0808202590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] A press conference devoted to military issues in the resolutions of the 28th CPSU Congress took place in Moscow today. Colonel General Nikolay Ivanovich Shlyaga, head of the Main Political directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy; Colonel General Vitaliy Fedorovich Arapov, first deputy head of the Cadre Directorate of the Ministry of Defense; Colonel General Nikolay Viktorovich Gryaznov, head of the Main Housing and Exploitation Directorate; and other representatives of the country's military administration took part. The conversation with journalists touched on the strengthening of the CPSU's ideological influence on personnel through the party organizations and communists in the Armed Forces. After the conference, our correspondent Gennadiy Goryachev interviewed Colonel General Nikolay Ivanovich Shlyaga.

[Begin recording] [Goryachev] Nikolay Ivanovich, what attitude should those draftees take who do not share the CPSU's ideas and, moreover, who are perhaps members of other parties or believers?

[Shlyaga] I would put your question in a different way—removal of the party from the Armed Forces. I would single out three points of view. The first view is advocated by those who believe that a ruling party has the right to set up or to have its organizations in the USSR Armed Forces. Today, the party stratum accounts for 25 percent in the Armed Forces.

The second view maintains that all the parties that are active and have their positions and platforms within the framework of Soviet legislation and the USSR constitution have the right to set up their organizations. Perhaps one can see where such a development might lead if we had many party representatives in the Army who would engage in political dialogue and political struggle for spheres of influence in the Armed Forces. Obviously, there is no need for me to tell you about that. This demoralizes the Army.

The third view is comrades say that there should be no parties in the Army, that is those who serve in the Army should suspend their membership in this or that party. Life will tell which view is the most correct and acceptable one. I adhere to the first point of view. [end recording]

### Admiral Panin Outlines Navy's Role Today

*LD0808100690 Moscow in English to North America 2200 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] Aleksandr Yakovlev has been speaking to Admiral Vasiliy Panin, chief of the Political Department of the Soviet Navy. He began by asking for a sketch of the Soviet Navy today.

[Panin in Russian fading into English report] Adm. Panin says the Soviet Navy is a balanced force which can operate independently and in coordination with other forces. Experts abroad know well how many officers and men serve in the Soviet Navy. They also know that their number has been steadily decreasing in line with the Soviet Union's defensive military doctrine. The past few years have seen several groups of ships disbanded and some units converted to a strictly defensive structure. Last year alone the Soviet Union unilaterally put out of service 28 surface ships and 12 submarines.

[Announcer] Our next question was: How does the Soviet Navy compare with the United States Navy?

[Panin] The Americans have twice as many large warships and aircraft as we have. There is parity in nuclear submarines. The only Soviet advantages are in the offshore vessels and the diesel submarines which the United States has long abandoned. There is another proof of the defensive nature of the Soviet Navy. And yet the leaders of NATO, and above all the United States, are trying to leave out the naval forces at arms control talks.

[Announcer] Adm. Panin commented on the speech by President Bush at the commissioning ceremony of the nuclear carrier George Washington. Mr. Bush recalled that the first American president used to say that to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace. But if the Soviet Union and the United States stick to that view, the admiral said, how could they end the arms race at sea?

On the Soviet proposals for confidence-building measures at sea, Adm. Panin said the following:

[Panin] The Soviet Union has been intensively working for extending the confidence-building measures to the Naval Forces. The sides must share information on their naval potentials and notify each other of large naval exercises and maneuvers. The Soviet Union has invited a number of countries to attend its naval exercises in the Baltic Sea and the Pacific. Regrettably, this goodwill move was ignored by some NATO countries.

[Announcer] Adm. Panin admitted that the share of modern ships in the Soviet Navy was growing as the Navy was reducing its strength and decommissioning old ships. He said the commissioning of new surface ships and submarines had slowed down.

The chief of the Soviet Navy's political department concluded the interview by saying this:

[Panin] The Soviet Navy threatens no one. Its only mission is to protect the sea approaches to Soviet territory.

## Commander of Air Assault Troops Interviewed

*PM0808135290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6*

[Interview with Colonel General V. Achalov, commander of the airborne assault troops, by V. Izgarshev of PRAVDA's military desk; place and date not given; under rubric: "We Serve the Soviet Union!": "... And There Are No Impossible Tasks"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Izgarshev] In the 45 years of the postwar period the world, our state, and its Armed Forces have been changing. The dynamics and logic of social progress in general and the scientific and technological revolution in particular have changed the face not only of the national economy but also of the Army and Navy. New weaponry, especially nuclear missile arms, has radically altered previously existing views on the role and the combat function of branches of the Armed Forces and categories of troops. Including the airborne assault troops....

[Achalov] Great work has gone into the fundamental rearmament, re-equipping, and organizational improvement of the airborne troops. This work has drawn on the intensifying importance of the troops in the country's defense system. The development of military transport aviation has continued steadily. With the development of military transport aviation and the growth of pilots' expertise, the scale of air assault operations carried out in exercises and maneuvers grew. A fundamentally new chapter in the development of troops was opened by the equipping of the airborne troops with airborne fighting vehicles—there are now several generations of them—and with new artillery, antiaircraft, and reconnaissance systems and other weapons and equipment.

The quality and the spunk of the airborne assault trooper are now known to everyone. This is achieved by very heavy and risky work. In effect troop units and subunits are part of an across-the-board, organically linked, and logical system consisting of various exercises, mobile field camps and field exercises, command and staff training, special tactical studies, and individual and group parachute jumps and the tying down of military equipment. It is from this work that their constant combat readiness arises. The operations of airborne assault troops in all exercises and maneuvers—"Dnepr," "Dvina," "Zapad-81," and others—have invariably received an excellent assessment. [passage omitted]

[Izgarshev] The Soviet state has achieved quite a lot in international politics. And one consequence is the Soviet Union's adoption of a defensive military doctrine. On the one hand this enables us to concentrate efforts on resolving complex internal problems, while on the other it offers us the opportunity to prepare and carry out military reform in an organized fashion. What is being done in the airborne assault troops?

[Achalov] We are carrying out work on rearming the troops, improving their organization, mastering new

technology and airborne operational methods, raising the quality of field training, strengthening military discipline, and changing the forms and methods of training and education. The difficulty lies in the fact that the airborne assault troopers are forced to resolve tasks involving the stabilization of the sociopolitical situation in various areas of the country. In Spitak and Leninakan, in Sumgait and Gyandzha, in Baku and Dushanbe, and in Kirghizia the paratroopers—displaying courage, steadfastness, self-possession, professionalism, and endurance—have saved tens of thousands of people from disaster and indeed from consequences that it is difficult even to imagine. Aspects of human qualities have been revealed in officers, warrant officers, soldiers, and sergeants that confirm our unanimous opinion in the troops—our young man is capable of everything the Motherland expects of him. We are proud of this generation of paratroopers: Thank you to the families who gave such sons to the airborne assault troops.

There are many disputes at the present time about the political organs. This issue does not exist for us. No army in the world, least of all the most powerful, leaves things to take care of themselves or allows improvisation in educational and ideological work. And the fact that the paratrooper has always been faithful and trustworthy for the Motherland is greatly to the credit of the political workers also.

[Izgarshev] The airborne assault troops today are a highly mobile, technically equipped, professionally trained, and patriotically educated force—as you like to say, Vladislav Alekseyevich....

[Achalov] Yes, and fully manned and ready for action in all parts of the globe and all climates.

[Izgarshev] You have a very rigorous job and many problems, especially social problems....

[Achalov] We are not spared this. The life of the families of officers and warrant officers does not correspond with the intensity of their work. But our discipline, paratroop unity, and responsibility are based on the fact that we sincerely hope that the state, the soviets of people's deputies, see and know our problems and will help to resolve them.

And our job really is a difficult one. I have just returned from Kirghizia. The population there is asking for the paratrooperss not to be withdrawn. It is more peaceful and secure with them around, they say.... Incidentally, the inhabitants of the Transcaucasian republics have the same opinion of the paratroopers. One thing is worrying—the local authorities concern themselves very little over soldiers' accommodation. If you're a soldier, they say, you can put up with everything. But they are our sons; we should worry about them like a father or mother. [passage omitted]

## Status of Military Construction Troops Viewed

*LD0808215990*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 8 August broadcasts a 24-minute report entitled "In the Service of the Fatherland: Construction troops today and tomorrow." The program opens with an eight-minute video of a ceremony at which new recruits to the construction troops take their military oaths in the presence of assembled guests. An unidentified correspondent interviews individuals present who speak about the favorable impressions they have received on visits to troops' units.

The remainder of the program consists of an informal discussion which is conducted by correspondent Lyudmila Yashina. She says:

"The changes that are taking place in our society affect the Army too. A military reform is in preparation, though it's true this is happening after a considerable delay. What is it going to be like? On this occasion we hope very much that it will not take place without our own participation, without that is to say discussion by all the people. But, as you understand, doing that is not so simple.

"How do the military people themselves see the changes? This and the situation today in one of our Army's major detachments—the military construction troops—are the subject of this program.

"Nikolay Vasilyevich, you have the first question. A very great deal is being said today about the future of the military construction units. How do you see the military construction units in the very near future? What changes are going to take place?"

N.V. Chekov, deputy minister of defense for construction and troop billeting says that this week through the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA newspaper people have been invited to take part in a wide discussion throughout the country "so that everyone, not just the military construction men but their parents and everyone involved and concerned about the destiny of the military construction men, can express their opinion. We consider that through broad discussion we will find the rational seeds that will help us to go on introducing changes into our existing structural sub-detachments."

Yashina welcomes the idea of broad discussion involving the people. She then turns to another participant, N.S. Kovalenko, chief of the political directorate of the military construction units. Yashina says to him: "There should be more democracy in the military construction units. How do the political bodies see this? What does it mean?"

Kovalenko responds that democracy here is understood in the wide sense. "As far as the service is concerned, carrying out the requirements of the rules and the orders, this is unshakeable. We now have very many opportunities for being democratic. Take the officers. We have

now introduced a provision dealing with the officers' assembly which expands considerably the authority of the collective of officers: at this they can examine and they do examine issues and promotions and send people for training and award ranks in advance of the due date and many other things, including social matters and the allocation of housing. And we also have a number of other ideas about this issue of extending and developing democracy in connection with the decisions of the 28th Party Congress and in connection with the decisions of the Congress of the Komsomol."

L.M. Lapshin is next identified as chief of a construction directorate. He says builders are the oldest profession. They are the pioneers. He says he disagrees with Kovalenko. "I think that we in the Ministry of Defense system need to have standard designs and small buildings adapted for purposes of housing of a kind that can be quite easily transported from one point in the Soviet Union to another and where normal, human living conditions can be created."

Lapshin refers to the use of barracks. "These are not appropriate to house the officer and the warrant-officer and his family. It's unsuitable. But standard, well-designed housing with toilets, showers, and kitchens is something they have to have. I think that this is one of the shortcomings and in today's situation it has to be taken into consideration."

V.D. Voynikov, another construction directorate chief taking part in the program says construction of small buildings is a good way of moving forward.

Chekov speaks again, saying that the prospects on this matter are better. During the course of one year around 5,000 of these mobile homes, for between 8 and ten people, have been built.

Yashina next asks a question of V.N. Novikov, a commander of a military construction unit: "It's no secret that the recruits are allocated according to the what's-left-over principle; that is to say the best workers go one place but the construction units get those with records of convictions and those who are ill—both mentally and physically—and the boys do heavy work that is sometimes beyond their limits."

Novikov says: "Recently, of course, the percentage of those who are severely ill has been reduced sharply. There is a certain percentage that is serious and these are those with convictions. It's no secret that many of the military construction people nowadays come from the Central Asian Republics and the Transcaucasus, and their attitude is not the same as it was with the boys say five, six, or ten years ago."

Novikov says he regrets the reputation that the military construction troops sometimes have—he has served there for 20 years and is proud of the name military builder. Yashina asks whether it would be desirable for the military construction troops to be recruited as professionals. Lapshin says that instructors are essential for construction work so why shouldn't we recruit professional instructors to serve as warrant officers or servicemen on extended service and pay them good money?

He goes on: "Today our institute is virtually at a standstill. People don't want to come. If we were to do that, whom would we recruit as professionals? People of all the trades, from the same colleges and technical colleges, and we wouldn't have to have such a large number of personnel."

Yashina adds: "And so they learn a profession and afterwards remain to do it for real, to show themselves in this matter for a year and a half. A person can change his profession, but a great deal has been invested in him." Both Lapshin and Chekov agree with this remark.

Chekov says: "Our task today, therefore, amounts to finding the best conditions for solving the tasks entrusted to the military construction men in the specific conditions of today in which the country and the people are living."

The program ends with other speakers talking about the achievements of the military construction soldiers in terms of the excellent facilities they have built for housing soldiers.

### Foreign Journalists Given Tours of Army Units

*LD0708223890 Moscow TASS in English 2206 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Anna Shcherbakova]

[Text] Leningrad August 8 TASS—Fifty-eight correspondents representing newspapers, magazines, and television networks from the United States, Canada, West Germany, Holland, Greece, and other countries on Tuesday visited two units in the Leningrad Military District. They toured a firing range and training facilities and tasted soldiers' meals.

"We are being given a good reception," Hans Schneider from West Germany told TASS. "We have come to see for ourselves that Soviet Army people know how to receive guests."

During the tour, organised by the Novosti News Agency and the General Staff of the Soviet Armed Forces, the correspondents will also visit units in the Belorussian and Kiev military districts.

## Baltic Republics

### Baltic Premiers' Opinions on Market Relations

*PM0808122190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Report by correspondent Leonid Levitskiy: "Toward a Market of All Republics Via a Baltic Market?"]

[Text] A working conference of the heads of government of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia, and representatives of the Belorussian, Moldovan, and Russian governments, the Moscow and Leningrad City Soviets, and the Leningrad Oblast Soviet was held in Tallinn 5 August. It discussed the system of direct interregional ties, and the development and strengthening of economic integration.

The jointly adopted report states: "During the discussion it was noted that the implementation of direct ties between sovereign states, republics, and regions has been complicated as a result of the existing system of Soviet legislation, which regulates relations between economic entities. The conference participants stressed the need to revise this entire system with the transition to treaty-based relationships whereby the right of plenipotentiary decisionmaking on all issues is conferred at the level of contracting parties..."

On the eve of the conference the newspaper PAEVA-LEHT wrote: "The meeting will possibly succeed in assembling together with the Baltic countries' prime ministers the leaders of all the countries making up the USSR. Despite the economic advantage, it is still a political action and could deal a severe blow to the Kremlin and Gorbachev. So this central authority will collapse." According to the newspaper, the governments of all republics were invited to the meeting. Clearly, this first attempt was not entirely successful. But, PAEVA-LEHT believes, Edgar Savisaar hopes to see another 12 prime ministers in Tallinn in September. Thus would be born a common market of the countries making up the USSR, and Tallinn would be the Brussels...

The conference participants indeed adopted a special appeal "On Convening an Economic Conference of Republic Heads of Government." It should be held in Tallinn very shortly. Its aim is to "discuss issues of establishing direct treaty-based cooperation as the first phase of transition to the principles of a common market or other forms of direct economic cooperation."

Later at the press conference I asked the Baltic republic prime ministers the following question:

"Following a decision by M. Gorbachev, the country's president, and B. Yeltsin, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, a special commission has been set up to elaborate a concept of market relations as the basis for a union treaty. Will specialists from the Baltic take part in its preparation? And in this situation, how appropriate is it for a conference of heads of republic in Tallinn to set up yet another parallel market?"

I. Godmanis, K.-D. Prunskiene, and E. Savisaar—prime ministers of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia respectively—voiced coincident opinions. In their words, the Baltic region has an interest in developing all kinds of ties with the union republics. Latvian, Lithuanian, and Estonian economists will be represented by experts on the commission elaborating the concept of market relations. The Baltic republics do not intend to sign a Union treaty.

"We understand this as follows," K.-D. Prunskiene added. "It is not compulsory to be a member of the Union to take part in a common market of all the republics..."

The conference participants, with the exception of the Belorussian representative, signed another document—a statement "On the Essence of State Associations Such As 'Integral.'" I recall that Union enterprise associations have been set up in a number of regions, including recently in Tallinn. In the opinion of the conference participants, such associations are one of the countermeasures against republics embarking on the path of sovereignty and the market economy...

### Lithuanian Officials on USSR Negotiations

*LD0808121890*

[Editorial Report] Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian at 2100 GMT on 7 August broadcasts a three-minute report on comments by Lithuanian Deputy Supreme Council Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius and Deputy Prime Minister Romualdas Ozolas regarding negotiations with the Soviet Union and a possible date for the start of consultations on those negotiations.

Roma Pakeniene presents this report. Pakeniene quotes from the communique of the Supreme Council session: "The fact that Lithuania has completed preparations for negotiations is most important." She explains that this points to the fact that a protocol for negotiations has been prepared by a commission set up in July, chaired by Deputy Supreme Council Chairman Bronislovas Kuzmickas.

Pakeniene cites Vilnius radio comments by Deputy Supreme Council Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius: "A protocol decision has been adopted, in addition to the communique, which does not constitute a Supreme Council document. It is intended solely, for further work by the commission." Stankevicius added, she says, that "no alternative proposals have been added in deliberating negotiations with the Soviet Union conditions and goals, which comprise the contents of the aforementioned protocol. Lithuania's general stance in negotiating with the Kremlin has been discussed and unanimously agreed upon. The draft protocol will be presented to the other side in the near future."

The presenter also provides some comments by Deputy Vice Premier Romualdas Ozolas. She says: According to him Romualdas Ozolas, "even as early as today, attempts will be made to reach Nikolay Ryzhkov, the Soviet Union's government leader, by telephone, and the first official consultations between Vilnius and Moscow will probably take place this Thursday or Friday." She adds, "on the other hand, Romualdas Ozolas is convinced that such consultations regarding the negotiations should have been started already." He is quoted as saying, "we have accomplished today that which we have done earlier." Pakeniene observes that "by this attitude, expressed his doubt about the necessity of such deliberation by the Supreme Council." In his words: "This task could have been entrusted, by us, to the commission for preparation for negotiations with the Soviet Union itself, thus saving the parliamentarians' time and work [word indistinct] and, at the same time, [word indistinct] by a more intelligent route. The Supreme Council's task is to ratify the protocol already coordinated by both sides." Ozolas is also quoted as saying: "Be that as it may, what is most important is the fact that a negotiation protocol has been prepared and it is possible to actually talk with the negotiation partners."

Pakeniene notes that "Supreme Council Deputy Chairman Ceslovas Stankevicius is also of the opinion that the protocl has been prepared well and Lithuania, for its part, has made the appropriate preparations for the future negotiations." She adds: In Ceslovas Stankevicius' opinion, "Even the fact that the Kremlin has not prepared a similar document and has not replied to an earlier proposal by the Lithuanian government to hold a meeting is a totally normal matter." He is quoted as saying: "We are only interested in starting the dialogue, and thus we are showing initiative."

Pakeniene further quotes Petras Vaitiekunas, deputy of the Supreme Council and representative of the "central faction," as saying: "Today's parliamentary discussion was, first of all, useful in that it adopted unified positions on basic participants' questions. And this is especially important in the subsequent formation of a state delegation for negotiations with the Soviet Union." She added that according to Vaitiekunas, "The delegation must be unified and close-knit [susitelkusi], because otherwise the negotiations are bound to perish."

### Lithuania Approves Moscow Talks Panels

*LD0808204190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1900 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] A meeting of the presidium of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, chaired by Deputy Chairman Bronius Kuzmickas, was held today. The presidium approved the working panels of experts for political, Juridical, and diplomatic preparations for the negotiations with the Soviet Union. It was stressed that these panels must now define their problems and prepare the negotiation documents.

The meeting discussed the agenda of the second sitting of the extraordinary session of the Supreme Council. It discussed a project on passports for citizens of the Republic of Lithuania. Projects on the passport and its regulations were handed over for preliminary examination to the permanent commissions of the Supreme Council, which were instructed to submit their conclusions by 30 September.

The presidium examined appeals for reprives, and other issues.

### Lithuanians Urged to Help State Restoration

*LD0808222790 Vilnius International Service in Lithuanian 2100 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] The chairman of the commission on the country's defense and internal affairs of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Zigmas Vaisvila, speaking this evening in a television broadcast, appealed to society to take a more active part in the restoration of the state. He pointed out that Lithuania lacks people who could without delay start working in various state structures.

Meanwhile the old apparatus is not idle in hampering the consolidation of Lithuania's independence. Zigmas Vaisvila was speaking on television in reply—according to him—to a campaign of slander against the Lithuanian Supreme Council which has recently emerged in some Lithuanian newspapers. The speaker cited as an example an article published yesterday in the daily RESPUBLIKA about the country's defense general director, Audrius Butkevicius, and information published earlier in MAZOJI LIETUVA about the alleged links of the Supreme Council protection service with the criminal world. An appeal published in RESPUBLIKA and later in TIESA to the people of Lithuanila and aimed against the work of the Supreme Council was called by Vaisvila a propaganda bubble which has already burst. Having noted that some deputies themselves often hinder the work of the Supreme Council, Zigmas Vaisvila did not exclude the possibility that Lithuania is at present being hampered, according to him, by forces that are not accidental.

### Lithuanian Communist Party Relations Considered

*90UN2349B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 22 Jun 90 p 3*

[Article by Yonas Sakalauskas under the rubric "From Today's Mail": "The Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Communist Party (Loyal to the CPSU): Confrontation or Dialogue?"]

[Text] The leaders of the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU) still do not communicate. Or at least when they talk, they do it without listening to one another.

The Lithuanian Communist Party, which has renounced mistakes and dogma—its own as well as those of its

predecessors—has "modernized" itself so much that its ideas are communist in name only. Members of the Lithuanian Communist Party have become deputies of parliament and have forgotten about their pre-election platform and the program they adopted at the 20th Lithuanian Communist Party Congress. They humbly give their assent to those who tend toward the restoration of private property and to the quick destruction of everything that was created (including the good things) during the years of Soviet power.

The Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU) remains loyal to communist ideals, but for the most part its leaders still have not repudiated outdated dogma. They do not repudiate the dogma which hangs like a rock around their neck and keeps them from winning popularity among those people who recognize that it is impossible to continue acting according to the old ways. Common values, the legal interests of nations, and the humanization of economic life continue to strike a discordant note in their lexicon alongside the classical view which they cannot unreservedly renounce, as the Lithuanian Communist Party has done.

Thus, the leaders of the two Communist Parties in Lithuania do not find a common language, which delights the forces on the right. And what do the rank-and-file members of the party think about this? Some follow one side, and some follow the other, but almost a majority have taken a wait-and-see attitude. Although this majority is not just biding its time. Movement from below is already beginning. For instance, on 18 June at the Vilnius TETs-2 [heat and electric power plant] communists of both primary organizations organized a debate under the title "The Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU): Ideological Watershed and Points of Contiguity." Leaders of both parties were invited to the debate. A. Balchetis, secretary of the Vilnius Gorkom [City Party Committee] attended from the Lithuanian Communist Party and Y. Guryatskas, Central Committee consultant, and I. Yermalavichyus, department head, attended from the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU). But only one man sat behind each table: A. Balchetis and Y. Yermalavichyus. For the most part the audience was made up of engineers and technicians. I took a position in the corner of the hall as an observer and chronicler.

Professor Y. Yermalavichyus reminded the audience of the theoretical postulates of his party and advocated a Lithuania within the USSR. A. Balchetis did not speak about any of the particular characteristics of his party because he devoted most of his time to what was almost the most important question: Are we in favor of independence or opposed to it?

There were few questions for A. Balchetis because Y. Yermalavichyus was subjected to an attack from those engineers who were convinced that the theory of Marxism and the whole practice of socialism are mistaken and that the only way out is privatization. Y. Yermalavichyus had to work a bit to answer such questions as what was meant by the concepts "workers," "objective economic order," etc. until Y. Guryatskas, sitting in the audience, reminded him that those asking the question know all this very well and that it was time to return to the announced theme of the debate. Then several people in the audience stood up (they never said their names) and began to say that they wanted to talk about the most important thing. They were troubled about the present and future of Lithuania and the fact that it still has not become a democratic state. When would it turn into one?

Currently in Lithuania there is no balance between left and right forces. The hasty reforms are throwing it into chaos. If the Lithuanian Communist Party (and primarily the communist deputies) continue to lean to the right or adhere to the center, only one party will remain in the republic and that will unavoidably lead to dictatorship again. The Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU) is not right about everything, but to some degree its existence stabilizes the situation.

What unites the Lithuanian Communist Party and the Lithuanian Communist Party (loyal to the CPSU)? The wish to preserve (or create) democracy. In addition there are a common past, the names of the parties, and the consciousness that Lithuania will not survive without normal economic ties with the East (the Soviet Union). Incidentally, all those attending spoke in favor of maintaining such economic ties, but unfortunately they did not fully understand that such ties are only possible with a complete renunciation of the abuse directed against Moscow, with consideration for and observation of the interests of all nations and ethnic groups, and under the condition that no one put his own personal ambitions above economic, geopolitical, and historical reality.

So, did a dialogue take place? No, it was just an attempt at a dialogue. The real thing is still in the future. And if it does not happen, then our little Lithuania which we all love, each in his own way, will hardly have pulled itself from the morass of one dictatorship before it finds itself in the mire of another.

## Lithuanian Police Academy To Be Formed

*90UN2527D Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 2*

[Resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic on a Provisional Statute of the Lithuanian Police Academy]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic resolves:

1. To approve the Interim Statute of the Lithuanian Police Academy.

2. The Interim Statute of the Lithuanian Police Academy shall enter into force of the date of its passage.

3. To begin formation of the Lithuanian Police Academy and its material base at the time its statute enters into force.

4. The first chief of the Lithuanian Police Academy shall be appointed by the minister of internal affairs, upon coordination of his candidacy with the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet commissions on education, science, and culture, on the legal system, on state protection, and on citizens' rights and nationality matters.

5. The workers of the Lithuanian Police Academy, as well as its students, will take an oath of allegiance to the Lithuanian Republic.

6. The administrative center of the Lithuanian Police Academy is located in the capital of the Lithuanian Republic, Vilnius, on Ulitsa Ateytes, 20.

[Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic
[Dated] Vilnius, 13 July 1990, No 1-371

### State Protection Chief Outlines Tasks

*90UN2527B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 1*

[Report on press conference held by Audryus Butkyavichyus, general director of the Lithuanian Republic's Department of State Protection, and his deputy, Algimantas Baytkaytis]

[Text] The general director of the newly created Department of State Protection of the Lithuanian Republic, Audryus Butkyavichyus, and his deputy, Algimantas Baytkaytis, met with journalists at a press conference held on 23 July at the republic's Council of Ministers.

In his opening remarks, the department's general director emphasized that all states of Europe have laws in effect which obligate their citizens to stand guard over the state. The existence of an independent state is impossible without control over its borders. The need to create the Department of State Protection is also dictated by this.

One of the primary tasks of the department for the current period, A. Butkyavichyus continued, is to prepare for negotiations with the Soviet Union on issues of compensation for the many years of use by the USSR Armed Forces of the republic's lands and forests and for the property of Lithuanian military subunits confiscated in 1940, and also on the procedure for the withdrawal of USSR Armed Forces from the territory of Lithuania. Since resolution of the latter issue requires time, probably about five years, A. Butkyavichyus emphasized, we must stipulate the conditions under which we would agree to their staying on our territory during this period.

In responding to journalists' questions, the general director of the Department of State Protection reported that the department is presently studying the mobilization resources of the Lithuanian Republic.

Since the final model of state protection has not yet been developed, for the time being it is not possible to answer the question about how much it will cost the Lithuanian state.

### Law on Lithuanian Deputies in Government

*90UN2527A Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 25 Jul 90 p 1*

[Text of Law of Lithuanian Republic on Making Additions to the Regulations of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic]

[Text] The Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic resolves:

To supplement the Regulations of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic with a new Article 11 to read as follows:

"In the event of the election or appointment of a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic to state bodies formed by the Supreme Soviet, he, representing the interests of his constituency, has the right in the future to make use of the deputy mandate. However, for the period of performing these duties he is deprived of the right:

"1) to vote at sessions of the Supreme Soviet;

"2) to vote for or be elected to any position in the Supreme Soviet or in its standing committees;

"3) to nominate candidates for a position in the Supreme Soviet;

"4) to make inquiries to the leadership of the government or of other state bodies."

[Signed] V. Landsbergis, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic
[Dated] Vilnius, 17 July 1990, No 1-386

### Latvian Economy Deteriorates; Production Falling

*LD0808203290 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By LETA-TASS correspondent Erik Kekhris]

[Text] Riga August 8 TASS—Latvia's economy, dogged by falling production and spiralling prices, shrank further in the first six months of 1990, according to the republic's committee on statistics.

Meat and fish production fell by 10 percent, worsening food shortages in the republic. The situation is aggravated by unorganized export of consumer goods and food to other areas.

This has prompted Latvia's customs officials to consider setting up posts on republican roads on October 1.

The demand for clothes, linen, men's socks, footwear and goods for children is especially high.

Crime was on the rise, as is environmental pollution, the report said.

Average monthly wages reached 268 roubles in industries and 257 on collective farms.

Cooperative workers were paid an average of 490 rubles a month. Savings in state banks fell by 94.5 million roubles to 3,492 million rubles.

### Estonian Premier Meets With Ryzhkov in Moscow

*LD0808144490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] An INTERFAX correspondent has just been told at the Estonian mission that Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar has arrived in Moscow. He is now holding a meeting with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

### Estonian Supreme Soviet on 'Deplorable' Economy

*LD0808193790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] The session of Estonia's Supreme Soviet continued its work in Tallinn today. Our correspondent Heimar Lenk reports.

[Lenk] Whereas during the first days the deputies were mainly engaged in political matters and adopted a number of documents on relations between Estonia and the USSR, today they dealt with economic problems. The deplorable economic situation is now worrying everyone. Even though the session's agenda does not include a specific point on price hikes in the republic, the deputies were unable to evade this question. As has become clear from the address by Edgar Savisaar, head of the government, prices have in principle got out of control. Enterprises and departments are simply dictating them to consumers, while the latter have no choice, as there is a shortage of goods anyway. For the buyer the market has not yet formed, while in price formation the free market mechanism is already operating. The government intends to work on prices in earnest, the prime minister said yesterday in his interview on Estonian television, and already in the middle of August a republic-wide swoop will be organized with the participation of the procuracy for checking on the prices of enterprises, cooperatives, and private entrepreneurs. The results of this check will be discussed by economic scientists at the republican seminar, and in September the question of price hikes will be submitted to parliament.

### Estonia Abolishes People's Control Committees

*PM0808105390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Report by correspondent Leonid Levitskiy: "People's Control—Illegal and Unpaid"]

[Text] Tallinn—The Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted a decree ending people's control activities throughout the republic's territory.

Back in April, the Estonian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet put an end to the powers of all people's control organs. A two-month schedule was set for property matters to be concluded and for work to be found for staffers. A law on state control was adopted in June. And now one more decision... Why?

The point is that labor collectives at a number of major union enterprises disagreed with this. Thus, the trade union conference at the "Dvigatel" Plant considered it necessary to continue the activities of the people's control committee. Committees were also retained at a number of other enterprises.

In this situation, the country's People's Control Committee supported the collectives' proposals and tasked the "Dvigatel" Plant committee with coordinating monitoring activity at all enterprises. Admittedly, it is not entirely clear how the released committee workers would be paid.

The Estonian Supreme Soviet Presidium assessed the decision of the country's People's Control Committee as contravening the republic's legislation.

### Estonian Official Defends Immigration Law

*90UN2420A Tallinn SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA in Russian 6 Jul 90 p 2*

[Report on interview with Andres Kollist, general director of the Estonian Department of Migration Affairs, by correspondent G. Golub: "Do Not Get Married, Girls"]

[Text] **The law of the Estonian Republic on immigration adopted by the Supreme Soviet on 26 June was just published in our newspaper. One should have no doubts that it has elicited a stream of letters and a mass of telephone calls to the editorial offices. (Suffice it to recall a similar situation in MOLODEZH ESTONII after the publication of the draft of this law in October of last year.)**

**In order to field some of the possible questions we are offering for the readers' attention today a conversation between our correspondent and the general director of the Department of Migration Affairs, Andres Kollist.**

[Kollist] I do not know that it is worthwhile to begin our discussion with the fact that the Estonian people are concerned about the demographic situation that has now developed and the ratio between the numbers of the indigenous and nonindigenous population.

[Golub] I think enough has already been said about that. But I would like to bring up the latest immigration figures, that is, the number of people coming into the country.

[Kollist] Of course. In 1988, 11,995 people moved to Estonia and in 1989—12,563. The majority of these moved to Tallinn (4,383 people last year). Following after Tallinn come Narva, Kohtla-Jarve, Tartu, and Kharyuskiy Rayon. That is, this process cannot be halted with good intentions. A law is needed. And now one has been adopted.

[Golub] It is written there that the immigration quota (maximum number of individuals coming to live in Estonia) should not exceed 0.1 percent of the permanent population, that is...

[Kollist] ...That is, 1,565 people per year. For Tallinn, for the second half of this year, there were 250 people.

[Golub] Let us figure this out. It turns out that the figure is one-eighth to one-ninth of what it is now. Is this realistic?

[Kollist] In the Tallinn City Soviet, for example, they think that realistically this process is already taking place. Moreover, one must take into account that those who lived in Estonia before 1940 and their offspring—those who went from here into the army, who went elsewhere to school, and so forth—are not included in the quota—look at Article 2, point 3.

[Golub] We shall not discuss them, those who have an undisputed right. Who then is included in this 0.1 percent?

[Kollist] The kinds of immigration are defined in the second section of the law. They are related to family factors, education, employment, demobilization of officers, and so forth. Here a residence permit is issued—temporary (six months without the right to work, for example, to care for a sick relative), specified-period (for those who have come for training or have a contract to work for a period of up to three years), and permanent (issued to individuals involved in Estonian culture, citizens of the Estonian Republic and their offspring, and ethnic Estonians).

[Golub] So regardless of their purposes or the periods of time they will be here, each person coming in must be included in a quota? How logical is that if the period for a temporary permit is only a half year? The person with this permit occupies a place on the list of immigrants for a fairly short period of time, thus delaying the resolution of a question that might be vitally important for someone else—establishing a young family or reuniting parents with children.

[Kollist] This question was discussed both in the commission and at the session of the Supreme Soviet. Valeriy Koys, deputy from Kohtla-Jarve, suggested, for example, introducing a quota only for those who apply for permanent, as it were, registration. I personally agree with him. But this suggestion did not make it through the session.

[Golub] And this caused some of the Russian-speaking deputies to refuse to participate in the voting when the law was adopted?

[Kollist] No. The work in the commission was friendly. Certain of the proposals both from Valeriy Koys and Sergey Sovetnikov were taken into account. True, during the second reading of the law there was no group of communists defending the CPSU Platform. It was at the third reading that they spoke out against the law. Panfilov's main argument was the following: The law impedes the reunification of families, which is a violation of human rights.

[Golub] And how can you respond to that?

[Kollist] In the first place, one should not confuse three different concepts: human rights, civil rights, and the right of the state to protect its interests.

[Golub] And second?

[Kollist] In the second place... Let us figure it out. The highest priority for obtaining a quota because of family circumstances is for minors and the elderly (if they do not have children outside Estonia). That is, those who are weakest and most defenseless.

[Golub] And young couples?

[Kollist] With them we have the most problems of all. We are not against the reunification of a young family (we are speaking about those cases where he or she is outside the republic). But a legitimate question arises: Why should they live in Estonia? This is where the dividing line runs between protecting the rights of the state and of the individual. It is no secret that many marriages, unfortunately, are fictional.

[Golub] But what if it is really love?

[Kollist] Then it must pass three tests—the first, second, and third kinds of residence permits... A total of five years. Is this really a long time for young people? The more so since the right to work is guaranteed this way. And there will also be time to look around and to think about whether they will like living here.

[Golub] But it is also necessary to obtain a residence permit and before that there is a quota. Does it not seem to you that there will be a waiting list of many years for the people who want to move here? After all last year more than 12,000 also had all kinds of reasons for moving to Estonia.

[Kollist] Yes. Almost half of them came under family migration. Then came officers going into the reserve (incidentally, preference was given and will be given to those who served for a long time in Estonia). There were also specialists, for example, pilots at the request of Aeroflot. And this was not exceptional. We do not intend to live in a vacuum; we need some kind of influx of personnel.

But so far there is no official policy as to whom to give a quota to first and whom second. Although in other countries this too is stipulated. For example, in the United States the reunion of parents and children has

higher priority than the reunion of man and wife. Everywhere there are certain regulations for accepting new residents into the country.

[Golub] Does it not seem to you that the Law on Immigration is ahead of events when it determines the status of people who have just arrived in Estonia while the status of people who have been living here for a long time is not clearly determined?

[Kollist] You apparently have in mind the Law on Citizenship. I agree that it is very much needed. And as far as I know possible variants of it have been developed. But should we be in a hurry to adopt it in today's complicated situation? True, according to figures from sociological polls, 20 percent of the Russian-speaking population support without reservation the aspiration of the Estonians for an independent state and another 40 percent share these aspirations for the most part, although they prefer a confederation within the framework of the Union. But still we should be in no hurry with the Law on Citizenship. But this, I emphasize, is my own personal opinion.

[Golub] Another point of the law raises a question: "Entry and transit are regulated by the system of the border service of the Estonian Republic."

[Kollist] Yes, there is that—we are speaking about borders which do not exist. We are speaking with an eye to the future. But we must control the situation on our territory right now.

[Golub] Do you have in mind the people "without passports" or, rather, those who are not registered?

[Kollist] Yes. According to a report from the minister of internal affairs, Laanjarv, no less than 15,000 people are now living in Estonia without being registered. The minister thinks that it will take a year to determine the real picture.

[Golub] Again this is strange. In the commission for constitutional oversight they are raising the question of eliminating registration in the country as a whole. But this legacy of Stalinism seems to suit us quite well.

[Kollist] For the time being, yes. Because there is no other mechanism for regulating the situation. If there were strict control on the border then if people had a residence permit we could do away with registration.

[Golub] Do you not use this word "strict" too much?

[Kollist] I think not. A person cannot simply go in and start to live and work in any country of the world without going through the appropriate procedures. On this plane our law is no exception. Although it is fairly strict, I repeat, it is conditioned by the situation. This is not my personal opinion. We have shown the draft to specialists from Sweden and Canada and participants in the international seminar of demographers. Nobody has found any human rights violations here. Incidentally, one of the most serious human rights violations is a ban on leaving the country. We do not have this.

[Golub] Now this question, Andres. We have known one another for a long time, since the time when you as a young chemist won the prize of the Estonian Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] and participated in long expeditions to Kamchatka and Chukotka. How did you end up here in the Department of Migration Affairs? And what, incidentally, are its functions?

[Kollist] First, about the department. It was created in April of this year. It is under the jurisdiction of the government. So far the staff includes four people but we plan to have 30-40. The goal is to create our own register of people coming and going (for now we take advantage of the services of the passport office of the Ministry of Internal Affairs) and to concentrate all of our work on regulating migration, helping new residents of Estonia, and so forth.

Now about myself. Two years ago I was thinking about this problem and last year three scientific associates (Peep Kask, Enn Kundla, and I) on our own initiative signed the draft law on immigration. Why? The wave of national self-awareness that gripped the republic, the concern for the fate of our people... I hope you understand. We sent the draft to Valjas, Toome, Ruutel, and Otsason. And it turned out that an official work group appeared under the Council of Ministers which was led by Juhan Sillaste, the minister for social problems at that time, and we developed the draft of the present law. And since it was my initiative I was asked to head the department.

I had no intention of making this a career. I agreed only for the sake of the cause. And when this is over I shall return to science. Incidentally, I have not completely left it even now; I am still the leader of a work group at the Institute of Chemistry. And I do not intend to abandon the expeditions—I am going on vacation.

[Golub] And the last question. You can like the law or not but on the whole it gives the impression of being a well-thought-out document. Are you sure that its implementation is realistic?

[Kollist] I hope so. Although I am aware that everything will be more complicated in real life. It is one thing to think in general categories and another to decide concrete human destinies.

[Golub] So can a man marry a Muscovite or a woman marry a Leningrader?...

[Kollist] Here there can be no advice or prohibitions. But if you have decided to settle here you must be prepared for temporary difficulties. Such is life. And not just here in Estonia.

## RSFSR

### Media Continue Covering Yeltsin's Tour of Tatar

#### Second Day Viewed

*LD0808103290*

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 0900 GMT on 8 August broadcasts a two and a half minute report on the activities of Boris Yeltsin, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Supreme Soviet.

Correspondent Sergey Omelchenko says that Yeltsin is today in Naberezhnyye Chelny. Omelchenko says the second day of the tour was just as busy as the first. In the morning: the start of the Druzhba oil pipeline, No. 1 oilfield of Almetyevskneft oil and gas extraction administration, drilling rigs, and Tatar Nuclear Electric Power Station One of Yeltsin's routes runs along the streets of Almetyevsk. He stops at the Gifts of Nature shop which sells agricultural produce, perhaps one of the best shops in Almetyevsk. he looks at meat, salami, chickens, fruit, and vegetables. Omelchenko says he has not seen such an abundance in Moscow for a long time. Yeltsin meets customers at the shop.

Yeltsin, says speaking to customers: "I have seen people working, and it should be said that you are reputed as a republic of workers, people who like working, they want to work. The republic will have its autonomy, and we are for giving the republic autoonomy." The people applaud and he continues:

"We are ready to conclude a treaty and work on the basis of the treaty. You can work for one thing; You have the natural resources for another. Further, your countryside is lovely. Your traditions are excellent in Tataria, both as regards spirituality, culture, morality, and diligence. You have a good intellectual potential. There have been very many proposals from people who really want Tataria to have economic autonomy. It does have the possibility of really supporting itself well."

Omelchenko says the start of Yeltsin's tour shows that it will not be easy, as there are many problems in Tataria and Bashkiria where he is going next, and other regions where he will meet people.

#### Third Day Reported

*LD0808193990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Excerpts] Today is the third day of the tour of the country by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. Now he is in Tataria. Here is a reportage by our special correspondent Sergey Omelchenko.

[Omelchenko] Boris Nikolayevich visted oil-town Almetyevsk, Nizhnekamsk, and Yelabuga. I recorded this reportage in Naberezhnyye Chelny. Chelny met Boris Nikolayevich with their questions and problems, which, on the whole, are not especially different from problems and questions of the whole of our large Russia, the two fundamental ones being nutrition and housing, even though here in Chelny quite a lot has already been done in this context. Here is an excerpt of one of the conversations on the town's streets.

[Begin recording] [Yeltsin] We in Russia are not accepting this government program (?of the Union); that, it seems, is connected with raising prices. We need to change over to market relations without raising prices. That is the main thing. That is the main thing.

[Woman] And will the question of ownership be tackled in some way?

[Yeltsin] Without fail. We...

[Woman, interrupting] Ownership of land. I am interested in ownership of land.

[Yeltsin] Yes, in September-October through the Russian Supreme Soviet we will adopt our law on ownership, which will be different for the union law. Yes..

[Woman] Excellent! Because we cannot wait, we cannot wait any longer.

[Yeltsin] Among other things, we will even decide on private ownership.

[Woman] Excellent!

[Yeltsin] That is how it is.

[Woman] Excellent!

[Yeltsin] It will be possible to take on the running of small shops. [end recording]

[Omelchenko] Well, of course, also the visit to Kamaz. Kamaz, the foundry shop. Boris Nikolayevich went through it and looked at things. Then there was a meeting with the collective of the shop. In my view at least half of the plant had gathered there. [passage omitted]

Tomorrow Boris Nikolayevich will meet Kazan. He will visit the aviation enterprise, will meet with representatives of Tataria's creative unions, and will chat with teachers and students of Kazan University. He will speak also with people's deputies, and with representatives of the republic's public organizations and movements. The tour of the country by the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation is continuing.

#### Promises Enterprises Independence

*LD0808221990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2020 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin acquainted himself with Tataria, the largest oil and gas

supplier in the European part of Russia. This question was asked repeatedly at numerous meetings with oil workers: Where is the way out, and who is to blame for the disastrous state of this industry?

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The way out lies in a reform of the whole credit and finance system of our country, in conformity with that of the Russian Federation. We are preparing such a reform in the Russian Federation now, because questions of price-setting here gave for decades been so tangled and determined subjectively by ministries or the State Planning Committee that it is hard now to define who and where is to blame. [end recording]

[Announcer] And, of course, there is the problem of financing oil-producing and oil-refining enterprises.

[Begin Yeltsin recording] The First Congress of People's Deputies adopted a declaration on the state sovereignty of the Russian Federation. We appropriating this industry for ourselves and will tackle all issues, right up to currency. We have organized our own bank, our own foreign trade bank, subordinate to the Supreme Soviet, and we will now give independence to enterprises, including those producing and refining oil, so they can themselves control their property, the product which they turn out. [end recording]

### Silayev Comments on Chernobyl Measures

*LD0808203990 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Problems relating to clearing up the aftermath of the Chernobyl disaster in Russia were at the center of attention during meetings on 7 and 8 August between Silayev, chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic [RSFSR] Council of Minsters, and the working people of Bryansk oblast. He was touring Gordeyevsky and Krasnorgorskiy Rayons.

The program for clearing up the aftermath of the catastrophe requires substantial additions, he noted. Over a period of two years we are planning to provide those who now live on land with a radiation density of over 40 curie housing on uncontaminated territories. Later on, resettlement from less contaminated territories will start. Silayev acquainted them with the RSFSR Council of Ministers' decision on additional benefits for those living in the zone of radioactive contamination.

### Silayev Meets Grape Growers, Wine Makers

*PM0808124390 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Second Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report: "In the RSFSR Council of Ministers"]

[Text] I.S. Silayev, chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers, met with Russian grape growers and wine makers 4 August.

It was noted at the meeting that production volumes have fallen sharply in these sectors and the quality of viticultural output has appreciably deteriorated. A keen discussion revolved around ways to revive grape growing and wine making.

The RSFSR Council of Ministers supported the initiative submitted by Kuban's grape growers and wine makers to set up "Kubanvinprom", an intersector state-cooperative concern in Krasnodar Kray to produce grapes, wines, and other output.

### Matyukhin Appointed Russian State Bank Chairman

*LD0808102790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] The Russian Soviet Federated Republic Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Professor Matyukhin as acting chairman of the board of the State Bank of Russia. He is the author of seven books on banking and other economic problems and has worked in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Trade, the USSR State Planning Committee, and the Institute of World Economics and International Relations. Matyukhin's most recently worked at the United States and Canada Institute.

### Consequences of Separate RSFSR Bank Viewed

*904A0520B Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Article by I. Zhagel: "May the Ruble Not Be Undercut"]

[Text] It is no exaggeration at all to say that the past two weeks in the economic life of our country were dominated by fighting over the banks. This is logical in a sense: The republics are becoming increasingly aware of the fact that their striving for independence will be a fiction unless political power is bolstered by financial power, and that their attempt to switch to a market economy is an exercise in futility without a new credit and banking system.

As is known, the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] adopted a resolution on creating a two-tier banking system in the republic right before the beginning of its recess. Pursuant to this document, all offices of state specialized banks on the territory of the republic were declared RSFSR property, and should be transformed into commercial banks on a joint-stock or share basis. They will form the lower tier of the republic credit and finance system. The RSFSR State Bank, for now still the RSFSR Branch of the USSR State Bank, will occupy the top tier. Incidentally, the parliament of the Ukraine has planned similar reforms.

For its part, the USSR Council of Ministers initially announced a switch to the joint-stock principle in the Zhilsotsbank [Bank for Housing and Municipal Services and Social Development], and several days later a similar decision was made with regard to the Agro-industrial Bank. The Russian government immediately evaluated these actions as an attempt by the Union authorities to

maintain their influence on the two largest specialized banks in the country by redistributing the controlling share between the USSR Ministry of Finance and other central departments.

Understandably, further opposition or attempts to resolve the issue by administrative measures will only aggravate the situation. A way out of this situation is only possible through searching for mutually acceptable solutions. This is why a message saying that on 23 July a meeting of the Presidential Council was held to which the leaders of the republic were invited sounded hopeful.

As R. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, said, everything associated with the restructuring of the bank system was discussed in detail at this meeting, with the interests of all republics and all regions taken into account. It is gratifying that the difficult science of looking for compromises is increasingly becoming practical in our country, despite the fact that a common position has not yet been worked out on a number of issues. For example, as I understand it, there is no unity of opinions on the expediency of the existence of the RSFSR State Bank.

Of course, under the circumstances it would hardly be expedient to attempt to predict how the dialogue under way will develop or try to give any recommendations. However, I believe that it is important to note the following in this instance: All discussions concerning the reform of the banking system and all practical steps should provide for the maintenance of the ruble as the single currency for all republics. In the absence of this, the creation of a unified all-Union market which is much talked about at present will be just impossible.

Indeed, before I am accused of infringing on someone's sovereignty, let us figure out what will happen if it comes to the emission of their own currencies by the republics. In this case, trade between regions will become not only difficult but impossible in a number of cases. After all, all of the separate currencies will remain non-convertible for a long time to come. This means that either barter will flourish, or some third convertible currency will circulate, which the republics clearly do not have enough of at present. There is yet another scenario: to introduce an analog of... the CEMA transferable ruble.

It bears mentioning here what the emission of republic currencies is going to cost. Taking into account the fact that the money supply in our country as of the beginning of the year amounted to R111 billion, changing all bills will cost 5 to 6 billion, and this process will take at least 2.5 years. At any rate, this is what the specialists of the USSR State Bank believe. Economic stabilization definitely cannot be expected to occur during this period.

The following issue may arise: Why, having started our discussion with the conflict between the authorities of Russia and the Union concerning the banks, have we shifted the topic to our unfortunate ruble? Are we not trying to imply in this manner that the RSFSR Supreme Soviet had some secret intentions which it actually has not even entertained? After all, there is not a word in its much bandied-about resolution about introducing Russia's own currency.

Indeed, there is not a word about this in the document. However, let us be frank: The resolution is making many specialists apprehensive—making them apprehensive and prompting them to ask questions. First of all, this one: If a two-tier banking system, consisting of a network of commercial banks and headed by the RSFSR State Bank, is created on the territory of Russia, how will it be able to actually exist without its own currency?

On the other hand, if the RSFSR State Bank delegates some of its rights, including the right to emission, to the USSR State Bank, then some three-tier structure unparalleled in world practice will emerge. In this case, the main bank of Russia may no longer be considered a state bank either.

One ranking functionary of the republic told me, requesting that our conversation be confidential: "Do not rack your brain. The resolution of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet has largely been caused by the absence of a decision by the Union Government on the restructuring of the banking system and its reluctance to give up control of the USSR State Bank. This rather political step sort of declares: If you do not agree to reforms we will do without you; all the necessary institutions have been created."

Well, we may view the position of the republic authorities with compassion. In some way, we may even understand their determination and uncompromising attitude. However, the apprehension remains: Our ruble may be undercut!

After all, the issue of introducing their own currencies by, for example, Kirghizia or Kazakhstan has not been raised yet; however, it will inevitably arise with the appearance of the RSFSR State Bank, at the very least due to the following consideration: Why keep the ruble on one's territory if an incomprehensible association of two central banks is going to take care of its "health?" Or else the Russian bank will seize control of everything—no country in the world makes a currency issued by another country its main currency.

I think that even the largest republic cannot decide anything in this matter on its own. Where is a way out? The issue of the reform of banking structures, of the manner in which the exchange of goods between regions is accomplished, and of the currency foundation for this is so serious that, apparently, it needs to be included in the future Union treaty.

If this treaty still opts in favor of the ruble as the all-Union currency, then a special status may be established for the USSR State Bank, as well as its direct subordination to the parliament of the Union rather than the Union Government, which many economists have been talking about for a long time now. With a view to

taking into account the interests of the parties, a management council of the central bank should be created which would consist of the representatives of all republics who will be appointed by the republic organs of power. In this case, the health of the ruble will become a common concern.

To be sure, there is no niche in this system for the state banks of the republics, while there is a consideration which apparently still indicates the need for them. The independence of republic governments presupposes their ability to finance the development of branches which are important to them and of regional programs. Naturally, a way out is not found in creating "puppet" central banks which will click their heels as soon as the government orders them to allocate money. We have had this already.

A way out is elsewhere. State-commercial or republic-commercial banks should be created based on large commercial credit establishments which perform well by means of the buy out of controlling shares by the governments of the republics. This is not my own invention. It would suffice to study the experience of France, the FRG, and other developed countries in this matter.

## Official Sees RSFSR Leading Market Reforms

*904A0530A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian*
*2 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Interview with R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, by IZVESTIYA correspondent G. Ivanov- Smolenskiy; place and date of interview not given: "Russia: Sovereignty and a Market Economy"]

[Text] [Ivanov-Smolenskiy] Ruslan Imranovich, you are a professional economist. Now you have become a politician. From these two vantage points, how do you view the inheritance that Russian people's deputies and the Supreme Soviet of the republic and its government have received?

[Khasbulatov] The previous RSFSR Council of Ministers distributed to the deputies a statistical handbook on the economic situation in Russia. Based on these statistics, we may conclude that there is poverty and shortages of absolutely everything.

Russians' current needs claim 79.3 percent of funds, mandatory fees account for another 12.6 percent, and savings for 6.3 percent on the average. This is abnormal. In Western countries, particularly member states of the OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development), to which 24 industrially developed, mainly European, countries belong, 22 to 23 percent is saved on the average. With our 6.3 percent, this is the life of a slave, this is subsistence.

There are no quality foodstuffs, footwear, or construction materials. We say: There is inflation. However, virtually nowhere in the world do they have inflation similar to ours. When people have money but there is nothing to buy, it is not even hyperinflation. This is a qualitatively new condition testifying to a profound crisis in our financial system, the crisis of primarily our unified state-monopolistic property, and the bankruptcy of the economic function of the state.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] Despite this critical situation, our official economic ideology has evolved extremely slowly so far. In particular, the Union government did not resolve to begin looking for new ways of transition to a market economy for a long time. What troubled you most in its previous approaches?

[Khasbulatov] The factor associated with prices troubled and troubles me and a majority of deputies the most. I am sure that the people's reaction would not have been that sharp had they suggested to the people that they first create real organizational and economic prerequisites for switching to a market economy, had they initially explained clearly the advantages of this.

I am convinced that most people do not fear private property. After all, what is a market about? A modern market economy is a mixed economy, in Lenin's words—a multisector economy in which all forms of property—state, private, joint-stock, cooperative, and so on—have absolutely equal rights. This is point one. Secondly, what are market economic operations? This means the complete economic independence of the operating unit—a state company, a private company, or a joint-stock company... Hence the third point: At issue should be the complete elimination of branch ministries from our economic life; they have brought about isolationism in the economy, "quota-based allocation," and universal shortages. Point four: It is necessary to fully recognize the principle of private ownership.

Meanwhile, the Union Government was not and still is not ultimately clear with regard to this. To be sure, it has a number of interesting, significant ideas. However, there is no clarity in principle. If we want to create "our socialist market," we need to tell it straight to the people: We do not want the actually operating kind of market economy which brings about prosperity; we want to do some more experimenting. Will the people agree to this or not? After 70 years of experimenting?

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] In your opinion, what else needs to be done urgently in order to switch to a regular market economy?

[Khasbulatov] There will be no market of any kind here until a nonstate small-business sector is created in a deliberate and very serious manner. What happens actually? There is a law on leasing, but there is no serious leasing. The same is the case with cooperatives, despite the fact that this is the only market economy sector in our country for now. This sector should be cleansed of unfavorable phenomena; however, people who work well should be given considerable latitude. Furthermore, there is the Law on Property, but where is a mechanism

for its implementation? Once again, there are no results. This is to say that the Union Government still has not created proper conditions for the implementation of a market mechanism in our country.

In our country the very nonsensical term "withdrawal of the state" ("razgosudarstvleniye") has been introduced. Meanwhile, the custom everywhere is to say denationalization, privatization. Well, whatever you call it, the essence should not change. Let some of the companies that now report to the ministries remain state property, but become free and independent. Ministerial props do not exist anywhere in the world, this did not take root. But we still cling to them.

We have overburdened the state with economic functions. Our socialist state is breaking down, as any information management system does if it is overloaded.

We also need competing forces. It is necessary to remove the state from the "economic game" and weaken its direct economic functions. At the same time we should search for ways to reinforce its social functions, for it to protect the people.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] If we come down to earth, closer to real life, what mechanism may there be for removing the rule of the state over enterprises, what mechanism of demonopolization and denationalization?

[Khasbulatov] This process needs to be coordinated very seriously with the government of the country, because Union ministries are in charge on most of the territory of Russia. In this matter a common tactic needs to be developed. The resolution "On the Delineation of Management Functions of Organizations on the Territory of the RSFSR" adopted by the people's deputies provides a very specific foundation for this.

The management structure of industries reporting to the Union which will be transferred to the composition of the RSFSR national economy should be mainly geared to the formation of voluntary associations and conglomerates of independent enterprises rather than the creation of republic ministries.

While laying the foundation for a mixed economy, we should not only form a very massive layer of small-scale entrepreneurship but also reorganize the finance system. There should be a great number of all kinds of banks and credit organizations.

I think that all serious foreign businessmen should be given an opportunity to organize their enterprises. This will give us an opportunity to enter the world market with greater ease. Some shares may be sold even at large enterprises, say, for 20 to 25 percent, and more in some cases. Let the foreigners show us how work should be done, let them teach us, since we have forgotten how. We have political power; the state is ours, the government is ours; this is to say that we are always in a position to reasonably monitor any Western company.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] This question is of concern to many people in our society: Will we not sell the country that way?

[Khasbulatov] We should not just sell shares to foreign companies, but should allow them to freely organize banking, the insurance industry, and housing construction, and participate in resolving the foodstuffs issue. Why should we not create favorable conditions for the operation of foreign companies? Will we sell our forests? Will we sell mineral wealth? However, it is impossible to waste more of them than we have. We have tremendous merchandise and material valuables, which place their dead weight on the shoulders of our own population, the working class. This is about 500 billion rubles. We cannot use them ourselves, but as soon as someone begins to sell them we immediately slap him hard.

Incidentally, one of our painful problems, the convertibility of the ruble, may only be solved within the framework of a market. A convertible monetary unit is the first attribute of a market economy which is tied to the world economy by thousands of threads.

Changes in investment policy are the key element of any economic policy. But the government of the country has continued to virtually ignore such changes. We have seen a partial maneuver in the sphere of investments since as late as the end of 1989. We should create a large number of small- and medium-size enterprises, and give the people an opportunity to invest their funds themselves.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] Putting it mildly, the attitude of our popular masses toward switching to a market economy is reserved. Fear is continuously aroused.

[Khasbulatov] There are two factors that discredit a market economy. They say that we should prepare for high unemployment once a market economy is introduced. Some talk about 10 million, and others about 15 million unemployed. Imagine this: You live on the brink of poverty anyway, and on top of that they threaten you with unemployment. However, I see no basis for such talk. Why? I believe that 1 or 2 million small enterprises are needed in Russia to begin with, for the economy to begin functioning properly. These enterprises will come to need a considerable influx of labor, meaning employees with good wages. To be sure, some of the enterprises will go bankrupt and close down; however, structural transformations will occur in the economy. The point is that when business activity is up new labor is sought, which is confirmed by the entirety of world history.

Of course, there will be unemployment. But when? As I see it, eight to nine years after a market economy is introduced in full, when our economy becomes increasingly involved in the world economic process and the international division of labor. Many of our enterprises will begin competing with foreign enterprises. At that point the national economy will face a very serious need to reorganize fundamentally and implement structural modifications. However, by this time we will have

passed the stage of original capital accumulation. The state will have acquired substantial savings, and so will the people. Our soviets, municipal authorities, will have substantial funds; I believe that by this time a new, qualitative change in the functions of the state will have occurred. The function of social protection of the people will have been perfected. I believe that unemployment is not a threat to us prior to such major structural transformations.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] At present, we frequently hear the quite reasonable view that the economic crisis causes ethnic problems, perhaps the most acute ones for all of us.

[Khasbulatov] I believe that these same economic woes are the root cause of the extremely complex ethnic relations. It is just that the socioeconomic crisis is transformed by the sensitive, painful prism of interethnic relations. However, I repeat that this is also primarily associated with the condition of the economy, and, consequently, health care, education, and culture, and the empty coffers of local soviets, including those of autonomous oblasts. The already mentioned all-powerful ministries and departments operate in all republics and autonomous entities; they siphon away their raw materials and do not take care of social needs. To be sure, a number of ethnic factors are significant by themselves—ethnic self-awareness, spirit, striving to preserve the nation, culture, and the social-psychological commonality (when I discuss economics, I do not at all try to simplify things). Nonetheless, we need to take care of the economy first.

Separatist processes will recede if the economic situation improves. Vice versa, they will expand if this situation continues to deteriorate. Why? Marx and Lenin brilliantly set forth the concept of markets breaking down ethnic and state partitions and creating initially national markets and subsequently world markets. In our country there is no market; there is stable economic deterioration. This is why all nations strive "to jump off the boat" in order to try and improve the situation on their own. I believe that in quite a few cases we should not explain complications in the ethnic processes underway in the Baltic area, Moldavia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and Tataria as the schemes of malefactors, "extremists," and nationalists. They are the consequences of our complete helplessness and the complete bankruptcy of our economic policy and economic system. These consequences manifested themselves in East Europe somewhat sooner, in a different, I would say, "classical" form.

The center has failed to show its ability to propose something in this matter. This is why we are fully determined to carry out our own economic policy within the framework of the Russian Federation.

I believe that Russia should become the motor of the entire economic reform. If we take a very active position, we will thus urge the center on.

[Ivanov-Smolenskiy] Apparently, mutual relations between the Union center and the RSFSR leadership, both its legislative and executive authorities, are a very serious issue given this situation. How are mutual relations expected to develop in this sphere? Are there contradictions?

[Khasbulatov] The First Congress of People's Deputies of the republic laid the foundation for working out proper and conflict- free relations between the Union and the RSFSR. At issue is the delineation of government functions of the center and Russia. From my point of view it would be absurd for the two powers to begin obstructing each other's decisions and actions. After all, our ultimate goal is the same—to have our country prosper and not to be ashamed in front of our own citizens and other countries. Therefore, we cannot by any means proceed to ignore or oppose each other. I think that there is a quite realistic opportunity to move in a common direction. Let us look at the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the country—on leasing, on property, on local self-government... They make it possible to adopt very serious resolutions and pursue a very active economic policy. On the other hand, who stands in the way of adopting even more revolutionary laws in the Russian Federation in order to speed up the pace of perestroyka? This is exactly the approach that is set forth in the congress resolution which instructed the RSFSR Supreme Soviet to adopt priority laws on economic reform, the development of democracy, human rights, expansion of the independence of autonomous entities, the status of deputies, and other laws.

On the one hand we will put to use all the innovations which the Supreme Soviet of the country has accomplished, while on the other hand, we will go further.

## Residential Complex Being Developed in Belgorod

*PM0808154390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 5 Aug 90*

[Report by N. Grebnev and Ye. Novikov from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Today Belgorod and the neighboring cities of Kursk and Orel are celebrating the anniversary of the liberation of Belgorod and Orel after the bloody battle of the Kursk Bulge 47 years ago, when the first gun salute to mark this victory rang out in Moscow.

[Reporter] Here, where a battle was fought on a scale unprecedented in history, people will never even think of changing the name of the Hero Tankmen's Street, or dismantling the monument to those who fought the war.

On the contrary, alongside the Battle of the Bulge diorama, next to Victory Park, a new project is under construction, the "Salyut" residential microrayon. The site, formerly a brickworks quarry, was long avoided by architects, who considered the terrain unsuitable for urban development. However, the city has expanded so

much that it has reached the industrial ring zone. Meanwhile here, at the very center of the city, there was a vacant plot. A team of young architects, headed by Arif Aliyev has tackled this complex task. Their blueprint has been judged the best because it makes sure that all the 17,000 future inhabitants can live in style and comfort here. In the best conditions, so to speak. It is no accident that the blueprint has won the support of both sociologists and ecologists.

The time allowed for construction is unsually short. Most of the new inhabitants will watch the gala salute in honor of the 50th anniversary of the Battle of the Kursk Bulge from the windows of their new houses.

It is not fortuitous either that the new microrayon has been named "Salyut," is it?

[Architect M.E. Pravenkaya] The microrayon is rimmed by two streets, Ulitsa Pyatogo Avgusta and Prospekt Vatutina. As a rule people come here to watch the gala salute.

[A.A. Aliyev, chief architect of the "Salyut" project] We have tried to ensure that the inhabitants of the microrayon can live if not grandly, at least comfortably. Therefore we have organized all possible sociocultural amenities here, sports facilities, and trade and public catering enterprises. The project includes many stores, open-air sports facilities, kindergartens, and schools. The housing is to be built in accordance with an improved design, the Number 91 Series.

[Reporter] Let's hope it will be a joy to live here.

[Aliyev] Yes, of course.

### Yaroslavl Facing Water Pollution Problems

*PM0808152790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by PRAVDA correspondent Z. Bystrova: "Traces of Green Oil"]

[Text] Yaroslavl—According to the competent opinion of Yaroslavl Oblast Nature Conservation Committee personnel, the oblast center—in other words several hundred thousand adults and children—may be left without drinking water any day or hour now.

It has been established that the "Tekhuglerod" Science-and-Production Association is to blame for the water supply's being poisoned. The ditch carrying effluent from the enterprise and the neighboring construction materials combine has been found to contain a high concentration of petroleum products. The ditch has been polluted, as have the banks of the Volga. A strong smell assails the nostrils.

PRAVDA's correspondent spoke to G. Gritsuk, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies Ecology Commission.

"What's the matter with the water? That is a question for the specialists," he replied. "At present one thing must be taken into consideration—you can only use boiled water. The situation is that a city with many thousands of inhabitants is situated on two very great rivers—the Volga and the Kotorosl. Yet at any minute it may find itself faced with a disaster. Industrial enterprises are located above the water intake point. The oblast's emergency commission has just been in session. We concluded that this cannot be permitted. The water intake point must be closed."

Yaroslavl urgently needs to create standby sources of drinking water without delay. Including boreholes. The city cannot live without them. By introducing an economic mechanism for nature use, the oblast Nature Conservation Commission is able to offer financial aid for the city's needs.

...How can we allow ourselves to hear "news" like problems with water from the population? News of this kind is carried by rumor. Where are our point-of-origin and interim controls? Are they not in operation? Despite the existence of wealthy enterprises that receive hundreds of thousands of foreign currency rubles for consumer goods, we still do not have the equipment to organize an automatic system to monitor the state of the environment. Primarily the water and air.

And what about means of notifying the population? Is it really permissible for people to be using poisoned water for hours out of ignorance?

Specific persons are to blame for these acute problems and troubles. The people must know who they are. But the situation as such is so serious that the Prosecutor's Office must investigate everything thoroughly. The accident will be investigated at a sitting of the emergency commission convened by the Yaroslavl Gorispolkom [City Soviet Executive Committee].

## Western Republics

### Moldavia's Suggestions on Union Treaty Viewed

*LD0808214990 Moscow TASS in English 2120 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Kishinev August 9 TASS—Full political and economic sovereignty of Moldavia, a republic in the Soviet Union's southwest, is the main proposal made by the working group, set up by the presidium of the Moldavian parliament in preparation of a draft new Union treaty, during the first meeting in Moscow with a similar group of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

"We exchanged views on three main groups of issues," Victor Puscas, deputy chairman of the Moldavian parliament, told TASS. "The first group of issues concern the future of the sovereign state of Moldavia. The second group deals with the principle for our relations with other sovereign republics and, finally, the third group dealt with questions as to what kind of centre the Soviet

Union should have in the future: a union, a federation, a confederation, or a community of sovereign states with respective powers.

"Sovereignty means that the republic will have its own constitution, citizenship, complete ownership of property throughout its territory, a financial and credit system, army and law enforcement agencies of its own, including state security bodies.

"Taking into account the existence of the Soviet Communist Party (CPSU) and its central committee and the emergence of new parties and movements, we consider it advisable to ban political parties and social organisations from interfering in the activities of local-government, economic, administrative, judicial, law-enforcement and other bodies," Puscas said.

It is essential to legislatively seal the rule that parties and sociopolitical organisations are prohibited to combine leading positions in state power and administration bodies, he added.

"In a new community, there may be five, seven, fifteen and more states," Puscas said. "They will unite for joint cooperation in the political, economic, social, ecological, scientific, technical, cultural and humanitarian spheres of activity."

### Moldavian Declaration on Sovereignty Published

*90UN2455A Kishinev MOLODEZH MOLDAVII in Russian 3 Jul 90 pp 4-5*

[Declaration published under the rubric "Adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the SSR of Moldova on 23 June 1990": "On the Sovereignty of the SSR of Moldova"]

[Text] The SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] of Moldova Supreme Soviet at its first session of the 12th convocation,

acknowledging the truth that all people are equal and have an inviolable right to life, freedom, and prosperity,

conscious of its historical responsibility for the fate of Moldova, which has its own history, culture, and traditions dating back thousands of years,

respecting the right of all peoples to sovereignty,

with the goal of establishing right and defending legality and social stability,

expressing the will of the people,

triumphantly declares:

1. The SSR of Moldova is a sovereign state. Sovereignty of the SSR of Moldova is a natural and necessary condition for the existence of the state of Moldova.

2. The people are the bearers and source of sovereignty. Sovereignty is implemented by the highest representative organ of the republic's state authority in the interests of all of the people. No single portion of the people, no group of citizens, no one political party or public organization, no other formation, and no one private person may appropriate for himself the right to implement sovereignty.

3. The SSR of Moldova is a single and undivided state. The borders of the SSR of Moldova can only be changed by a mutual agreement between the SSR of Moldova and other sovereign states in accordance with the will of the peoples and taking into consideration historical truth and universally recognized norms of international law.

4. The land, its depths, the waters, forests, and other natural resources located on the territory of the SSR of Moldova as well as all economic, scientific, technical, and financial potential and other items of national property belong solely to the SSR of Moldova and are used with the goal of satisfying the material and spiritual needs of the people of the republic.

Enterprises, organizations, institutions, and other facilities belonging to a community of sovereign states, to foreign states and their citizens, or to international organizations may be situated on the territory of the SSR of Moldova and use its natural resources only with the consent of the appropriate organs of state power of the SSR of Moldova according to the procedure established by republic law.

5. With the goal of providing socioeconomic, political, and legal guarantees of the sovereignty of the republic, the SSR of Moldova Supreme Soviet establishes:

the absolute authority of the SSR of Moldova in the decision of all questions of state and public life,

and the supremacy of the Constitution and laws of the SSR of Moldova on the entire territory of the SSR of Moldova. The laws and other normative acts of the USSR are valid in Moldova only after their ratification (confirmation) by the republic's Supreme Soviet. Previously adopted acts which contradict the sovereignty of Moldova are invalid.

6. The SSR of Moldova acknowledges the sovereign rights of all states. The sovereign state of the SSR of Moldova also has the right to join unions of states, voluntarily delegating them some powers, and to deprive them of these powers or withdraw from these unions according to procedure established by the appropriate treaty.

7. The SSR of Moldova takes part in the implementation of powers transferred by a community of sovereign states and has authorized representation in other sovereign states. Disagreements between the SSR of Moldova and a community of sovereign states are resolved according to procedure established by the appropriate treaty.

8. Republic citizenship is established on the territory of the SSR of Moldova. All citizens of the republic, foreign citizens, and persons without citizenship living on the territory of the SSR of Moldova are guaranteed the rights and freedoms stipulated by the Constitution and other

legal acts of the SSR of Moldova and by universally acknowledged principles and norms of international law, and they are subordinate to the laws of the republic.

Citizens of Moldova beyond the borders of the republic are under the protection of the SSR of Moldova.

9. The SSR of Moldova guarantees all citizens, political parties, public organizations, mass movements, and religious organizations acting in accordance with the provisions of the SSR of Moldova Constitution equal legal opportunity to take part in the administration of state and public affairs.

10. The separation of legislative, executive, and judicial power is a fundamental principle of the functioning of the SSR of Moldova as a democratic, rule-of-law state.

11. The SSR of Moldova observes the Statutes of the United Nations and declares its adherence to universally acknowledged principles and norms of international law and its readiness to live with all countries and peoples in peace and harmony. It is ready to take all measures to eliminate confrontation in international, interstate, and interethnic relations, defending at the same time the interests of the people of the SSR of Moldova.

12. The SSR of Moldova, as an equal subject of international relations, declares itself a demilitarized zone, actively promotes the strengthening of peace and security, and participates directly in the European process of cooperation and security and in European structures.

13. This present declaration is the basis for the development of a new SSR of Moldova Constitution and the improvement of the republic's legislation, and it is the SSR of Moldova's position for the preparation and conclusion of a Union treaty within the framework of a community of sovereign states.

## Text of Ukrainian Military Service Decree Cited

*PM0808114190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 First Edition p 1*

[Unattributed report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "How Are Ukrainian Citizens To Serve?"]

[Text] Kiev, 6 Aug—The Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] has adopted a resolution which defines the performance of compulsory service by Ukrainian citizens. Many questions have arisen in this regard among those performing service, those who are to join up, and commanders and workers in military commissariats. In an attempt to remove the current tension and clarify the prevailing situation the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has adopted the following document, which we quote in its entirety:

"Appeal of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium to Servicemen Performing Compulsory Service Who Are Citizens of the Ukrainian SSR.

"Dear fellow countrymen!

"Comrade soldiers, sailors, sergeants, and petty officers!

"The Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet adopted on 16 July this year a historic document 'The Declaration of the State Sovereignty of the Ukraine.' As a corollary of the provisions of this Declaration the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet on 30 July 1990 adopted a resolution on the performance of compulsory military service by citizens of the Ukraine and the employment of republic law-enforcement agency workers outside the republic borders.

"These very important documents proclaim the need to resolve the question of the performance of compulsory military service by Ukrainian citizens, as a rule, on the territory of the Ukraine, but do not have the force of directly applicable law [zakon pryamogo deystviya].

"In the very near future the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet will adopt a decision and laws which will precisely define the rights and duties of Ukrainian citizens in the defense of the Soviet Union and the procedure for the performance of military service and stop mothers worrying about their sons.

"Pending the adoption of these decisions and laws we call upon you to discharge honestly and conscientiously your military duty in the subunits to which you are sent in the performance of service and to be worthy citizens of our cherished Ukraine."

## Belorussian Deputies' Actions Criticized

*90UN2543A Minsk SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA in Russian 12 Jul 90 p 3*

[Article by BELTA parliamentary correspondents V. Bogdanov and A. Kryzhanovskiy: "Legislators and the Executive Authorities Should Cooperate"]

[Text] Belorussia has been declared a national ecological disaster area. Such a decision was made by the deputies at the morning session of the republic Supreme Soviet on 11 July.

The day before, four deputies who had been elected in repeat elections on 30 June were added to the republic's supreme organ of power. At the evening session on 10 July the parliament recognized their credentials. However, the parliament also suffered a loss by accepting the request of M. Kovalev, a meritorious retiree with Union status, to resign due to deteriorating health.

The Supreme Soviet passed a resolution which bans the use of personnel of the republic internal affairs organs outside the republic without its consent, and returns the previously reassigned employees of the Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Ministry of Internal Affairs to their permanent posts.

Returning to consideration of the resolution "On Measures to Speed Up the Implementation of the State Program for Eliminating the Consequences of the Disaster at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station," the

deputies decided to start by going over all points of the resolution without discussing them. However, it turned out to be difficult to control emotions in this instance. The parliamentarians did not listen to and interrupted each other, shouted their amendments and proposals from the floor, and drowned out by applause the deputies whose views were not to the liking of some group.

The subsequent publication of the resolution makes it unnecessary for us to recount its main provisions. However, we want to emphasize something else. Some people may once again notice a rebuke addressed to the elected representatives of the people, but insufficient consideration of individual provisions of the resolution is obvious.

Let us cite a commentary by a person whose authority has been confirmed by the powers granted to him in this auditorium. V.F. Kebich, chairman of the Belorussian SSR Council of Ministers, said in a temper that it would be better for him to resign right away if the parliament adopted decisions which the government is not in a position to implement. This is what he said: "I do not want to be the man who could be accused of allegedly being against an accelerated solution to the Chernobyl problem. However, look at some of the points passed today, for example that which says that all damages resulting from the losses of enterprises due to incomplete deliveries of products to consumers should be made up from the funds allocated to overcome the woes of Chernobyl. The government has a way to compensate for this in a different manner, which is simpler and does not entail high costs—by revising corresponding contracts. Now we will have to spend most of the 3.5 billion rubles allocated to us from the Union budget for compensation, and we will have merely 1.5 billion for directly eliminating the consequences. This can only make Union departments happy.

"A decision has been made to build additional housing in Minsk. However, the capacity of the construction organizations of the capital city is limited, and no matter what quantity of material resources we allocate to them they will not use it up."

V.F. Kebich called on the deputies to consider draft decisions in more depth and to cooperate with the government more closely in preparing these drafts.

## 'Civilian Council' Holds First Session in Minsk

*PM0808140990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2*

[Report by correspondent A. Simurov under the rubric "Worthy of Emulation": "Civilian Council"]

[Text] Minsk, 6 Aug—The first session of the Civilian Council has taken place in the Belorussian capital.

The initiator of its creation—the Workers Council of Belorussia—proposed that workers movement groups from 32 enterprises hold meetings once a month with people's deputies from workers, civilian, and strike committees and other public organizations for the protection of working people's interests. By mutual agreement, this distinctive assembly was named the Civilian Council.

What tasks will it tackle? The most important one is to jointly identify and resolve problems which sometimes lead to collective labor disputes, misunderstandings, and strikes. The Civilian Council undertakes to establish feedback between voters and people's deputies.

Civilian councils, in the opinion of their organizers, will be able to exert an influence on legislative and executive structures of power in the course of transforming forms of ownership and implementing the economic reform, and to protect the working person's interests.

## Belorussian Supreme Soviet To Launch Weekly

*PM0808115590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Aug 90 Morning Edition p 1*

[Report by unidentified correspondent: "Parliamentary Newspaper"]

[Text] Minsk—The Belorussian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet is to have its own newspaper—NARODNAYA GAZETA.

I. Seredich, a Belorussian SSR people's deputy and a well-known journalist in the republic, who had previously worked as deputy editor of SOVETSKAYA BELORUSSIYA, has been confirmed as chief editor of the future weekly.

I talked with I. Seredich.

"It is a sociopolitical newspaper," he said. "The republic's supreme legislative organ finally has its own publication. Of course, the primary subjects will include the life of the soviets at all levels, political reform in the republic, social and consumer problems, national rebirth, and others. The newspaper will cover these subjects in complete agreement with the principles of democracy and pluralism. As for its political orientation, it will lie in supporting sociopolitical movements working along the lines of perestroyka."

[Shimanskiy] The publication is called NARODNAYA GAZETA. What does that mean?

[Seredich] It means that the newspaper is intended for absolutely all strata of the population, with no age, professional, or other restrictions.

## Caucasus

### Armenia's Ter-Petrosyan Plans Trip to Moscow

#### Working Meetings Scheduled

*NC0808114590 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 1630 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Report by unidentified correspondent from the first session of the 12th convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet on 7 August at the Hall of Congresses of the Armenian Supreme Soviet—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Correspondent] The work of the new parliament of the Armenians is on a steady course. Its deliberations are proceeding in a steadily and purposefully, particularly after the election of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet. The fact that the first deputy chairman and deputy chairman were elected by an overwhelming majority confirms that the pannational goal has gradually started to bring together deputies with different views and who follow different currents.

Today the session began debate on one of the most important points on the agenda: the draft resolutions on the declaration of the political status of the republic. However, at 1100, before the debate opened on that issue, Levon Ter-Petrosyan, who was chairing the meeting, issued the appeal of the chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet to the Armenian people.

[Ter-Petrosyan] Dear compatriots, in appealing to you during these turbulent yet heroic days of Armenian history, it is my duty to bow to your spiritual ordeal and sacrifices during the trials of the present phase of our national liberation struggle. Your consummate efforts, the persecutions and privation you suffered, your resoluteness and steadfastness were crowned with a historic victory, which is at the same time the victory of justice, democracy, and national dignity.

I congratulate you on the occasion of the establishment of Armenian independent statehood and share your joy and renewed self-assurance in our own powers—the only guarantee for the future sucesses. However, I also call on you to assess soberly the current crisis that our republic faces. The only way out of the crisis is in the unity of the people around the idea of statehood and the national parliament.

I am convinced that we are in a position to solve the republic's complex domestic problems very soon and to resolve the prevailing explosive situation by our own powers, provided that outside interference is ruled out. I also expect that the Union authorities understand our position.

I call on all the guerrillas to swear allegiance to the tribunal of the republic's supreme state power and by setting aside their internal discords to refrain from any imprudent action.

I must also remind you that the people will not forgive adventurism that endangers the creation of our statehood.

I call on the law enforcement bodies to rely on the healthy forces making up the bulk of the guerrilla forces to ensure legality on the territory of the republic. We must prove to the world the existence of our national authority not through declarations and radical legislative initiatives but through the ability to master the situation.

Finally, I call upon our industrious workers to entrust the problems of the realization of the national and political aspirations to the parliament of the republic completely, and find their spiritual tranquility and enter into peaceful and creative work. Without this, any program and goal is bound to go bankrupt.

An auspicious future awaits us. However, we ourselves must construct this future.

[Correspondent] This was followed by a report by Karen Yuzbashyan, chairman of the commission drawing up the draft resolution on the declaration of the political status of the republic. He told the session that three draft versions have been prepared and are being submitted for the consideration of the session. [passage omitted]

[After the recess] Levon Ter-Petrosyan briefed the session on his contacts today and yesterday with the party delegates from the Communist Party of Artsakh [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and of Armenia.

Regarding his telephone contacts with the president of the USSR and the chairman of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, Levon Ter-Petrosyan said the following:

[Ter-Petrosyan] The third issue I want to tell you about is that I was very pleased to receive today a telephone call from Givi Gumbaridze, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of our neighboring fraternal Georgian Republic. We had a very warm conversation. He congratulated me on this victory of the democratic forces in Armenia and expressed readiness to establish close good-neighborly relations between these two fraternal republics. We agreed that sometime in the future, apparently very soon, we should meet, most probably in Tbilisi.

The fourth point I want to tell you about is that soon after that telephone contact Mikhail Gorbachev, who is now resting in Crimea, telephoned me. We had a considerably comprehensive 12 to 13 minute conversation. He too congratulated this victory of our democratic movement and expressed readiness to cooperate with us. He mentioned in particular the significance of the latest decisive decisions passed by our parliament. He assessed and endorsed them in an atmospher of mutual understanding. My reply was obviously reciprocal: On our part we welcomed that readiness [for cooperation]. As we said before, we are sure we can establish such ties that would ensure against external intervention in the domestic affairs of the republic. In this regard I want to assure

esteemed deputy Sarkis Muradyan that our republic's domestic situation should not be drawn in such somber colors. We are sure these problems can be solved through joint effort.

At the initiative and suggestion of Mikhail Gorbachev I will be leaving for Moscow within a few hours. I will be accorded the highest level of reception. The meeting will take place with Nikolay Ryzhkov. Working meetings will also take place with the heads of various bodies; with Bakatin, the minister of internal affairs; Kryuchkov, chairman of the committee for state security; and probably with Yakovlev, a member of the Presidential Council. First and foremost I am visiting not the capital of the Soviet Union but the capital of Russia and therefore, though not on the program, I feel obliged to pay my respects to the supreme state body of Russia. I do not yet know if Yeltsin is in Moscow but nevertheless I have to fulfill this duty.

This visit cannot be considered an official invitation or visit; rather, it is a visit for political consultations. That is all. Thanks. See you again. I will be absent for a few days.

[Correspondent] The first session of the 12th convocation of the Armenian Republic's Supreme Soviet will continue its deliberations tomorrow.

### Meets Ryzhkov, Gives Interview

*LD0808215590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2020 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] The period laid down in the well-known decree of the USSR president on the self-disbandment of armed formations expired today. This problem was among others discussed today at a meeting in the Kremlin between Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, who arrived in Moscow today. Two hours ago Levon Petrosyan [as heard] gave an interview to the Television News Service.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent] What is the purpose of your visit to Moscow?

[Ter-Petrosyan] The purpose of my visit is to discuss problems connected with the situation in the republic, and I want to note with satisfaction that the central authorities welcome our initiative of solving by our own efforts the problems connected with the grave socio-economic situation in Armenia and the existence of armed formations. Yesterday I had a long telephone conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and today I had similarly long conversations with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov; Bakatin, the minister of internal affairs; and Kryuchkov, chairman of the KGB. The main subject of our conversations was precisely this.

In addition, since I was in the capital above all of Russia, I considered it my duty to pay a visit to the Russian Supreme Soviet and I had a conversation with Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov.

[Correspondent] The Armenian Supreme Soviet is now continuing to discuss a draft declaration of state independence. Levon Agopiyevich, how is the discussion proceeding?

[Ter-Petrosyan] The discussion is proceeding in a very interesting way. Various political organizations, trends, and, one might even say, groups of deputies have submitted versions of the declaration, and a very stormy discussion of this declaration is now under way. I think that parliament will form a synthesis of all these versions and will, I think, adopt the most realistic declaration at the present time. [end recording]

### Discusses Presidium Decree

*PM0908091290 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Aug 90 Second Edition p 2*

[TASS report: "In the Interests of Improving the Situation"]

[Text] On 8 August USSR Council of Ministers Chairman N.I. Ryzhkov had a lengthy conversation in the Kremlin with Armenian Supreme Soviet Chairman L.A. Ter-Petrosyan. N.I. Ryzhkov congratulated L.A. Ter-Petrosyan on his election to the high office of head of the Armenian parliament and welcomed his arrival in Moscow to establish essential business contacts. The political and economic situation in the republic are such that a serious and frank exchange of opinions in the interests of stabilizing it has now become particularly pressing.

Questions were discussed concerning the normalization of the political and economic situation in the republic and interethnic relations in the region, the deterioration of which undermines people's confidence in the future and mars their prospects in life. Special attention was paid to the execution of the 25 July USSR Presidium Decree, the strengthening of law and order in the republic, and also the need to seek jointly with Azerbaijan to solve the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh. Extra efforts should be concentrated on improving the republic's economic complex and ensuring a radical breakthrough in the work of clearing up the consequences of the earthquake.

The main thing that distinguished the political tone and content of the conversation was the joint desire to understand better each other's views and approaches to the problems causing destabilization of the situation in the republic and serious concern in the country as a whole.

As the participants in the conversation observed, the exchange of opinions was constructive and useful.

### Comments on Talks

*LD0908120290 Moscow TASS in English 1116 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandris Budris]

[Text] Moscow August 9 TASS—Not a single problem in Armenia can be solved unless the social and political situation in the republic is stabilised, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told a news conference in Moscow today.

The 45-year-old president arrived in the Soviet capital on Wednesday for consultations with Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin and KGB Chief Vladimir Kryuchkov. He also met First Deputy President of the Russian Federation Ruslan Khasbulatov.

Speaking about the results of his talks, Ter-Petrosyan said that the Soviet leaders "Agreed that the normalisation of the situation in the republic is possible without the interference of the Soviet Army and Interior Ministry troops."

The responsibility for all measures connected with armed groups in Armenia will be placed on the republican authorities. The Armenian president noted that leaders of the biggest group, the Armenian National Army, declared their readiness to obey the republican parliament several days ago.

According to Ter-Petrosyan, media reports putting the strength of armed groups in the republic at 40,000 to 160,000 people "are grossly overestimated." He believes that the true number of people in armed groups "does not exceed 5,000."

The main goal for Armenia now is "to expand state sovereignty and radically democratise social life." At the same time, the path chosen by the Baltic republics is unacceptable for Armenia.

Speaking about the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, the Armenian leader stressed that he is "ready for talks with Azerbaijani leaders on this issue."

### Armenian Parliament Discusses Republics' Status

*LD0808162990 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[Text] Yerevan August 8 ARMENPRESS-TASS—The Armenian Supreme Soviet today began to discuss the future status of the republic's statehood.

Three drafts with alternative and debatable provisions have been submitted for consiederation. On the whole these documents reflect a single approach to such aspects as the enhancement of the role of the national language, the importance of the republic's having an army of its own, independence in international affairs, and expediting a solution to the Karabakh issue.

There was also talk about a possible renaming of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic].

Deputies cautioned against haste in this work on the eve of the signing of a new Union treaty, which is to establish fundamentally new relations between all republics.

### Armenia's Ararktsyan, Arutyunyan Profiled

*NC0808152190 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[ARMENPRES profile of Babken Gurgenovich Ararktsyan, who was elected first deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet; and Gagik Garushovich Arutyunyan, who was elected deputy chairman of the Armenian Supreme Soviet during its 6 August session]

[Text] Yerevan, 7 Aug (ARMENPRES)—Babken Gurgenovich Ararktsyan was born in Yerevan in 1944. He graduated from No. 55 intermediary school in Yerevan and entered the mechanical engineering-mathematics faculty of Yerevan State University. He continued his studies in the same field at Moscow State University, from where he graduated in 1966. That same year he started his post-graduate studies at the Mathematics Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences, defending his dissertation in 1972.

He returned to Armenia in 1968 and worked in various research institutes of the Armenian Academy of Sciences. He has been an associate professor at Yerevan State University since 1977.

He has been a member of the "Karabakh" Committee since June 1988, and of the administrative board of the Armenian Pannational Movement since 1989.

He was detained on 10 December 1988 with the other leaders of the Karabakh Movement and imprisoned. He was released in May 1989.

B. Ararktsyan is married and has two daughters and a son. His parents were workers in the educational field.

Gagik Garushovich Arutyunyan was born in 1948 in Gegashen village in Apovyanskiy Rayon. After graduating from the local intermediary school he entered the economics faculty of Yerevan State University. He graduated in 1970 and began post-graduate studies. He defended his dissertation, received a doctorate in economics, and became a lecturer.

He has lectured at the Yerevan National Economics Institute since 1975 and became an associate professor in 1978.

In 1977 he went to Yugoslavia for a year, studying the standards for economic development under conditions of autonomous economic management at the universities of Belgrade and Skople. He has published around 60 scientific pieces after studying the experinces of many other countries on regional economic management issues.

He started working as a lecturer at the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in 1982. He was appointed as chief of the socioeconomic department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee in 1987. A year after the dissolution of the Central Committee departments he was appointed to head the newly created socioeconomic department.

G.G. Arutyunyan is a member of the commission contributing to the socioeconomic revival of Armenia which is attached to the economics department of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

### Armenian Supreme Soviet Views National Army

*LD0808210890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Armenian Supreme Soviet today began discussing the future status of statehood in the republic. All three drafts that were presented for examination are united by a common approach to such aspects as the role of the national language, the significance of its own army, independence in international affairs, and the acceleration of a solution to the Karabakh question. There was also talk about a possible renaming of the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]. The deputies spoke against haste in the work on the eve of signing a new Union treaty.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent A. Shashkov] Looking at the quiet streets of Yerevan exhausted by the heat, it is difficult to believe the reports of the Interior Ministry on shootings, attacks on the militia, and the seizure of weapons. Unfortunately, however, that is the reality. Just as these weapons, confiscated by servicemen from a motor vehicle in which there was a platoon commander of the Armenian National Army, one of the rather numerous armed formations on the territory of the republic, are a reality. The Armenian National Army Headquarters is situated in the centre of Yerevan. There we met Edik Anushavanovich Gevarken, a deputy commander of the Armenian National Army.

[Shashkov] What is the Armenian National Army? What is its function?

[Gevarken] Well, the Armenian National Army consists of detachments that defend the people and the borders of the Armenian SSR.

[Shashkov] Approximately how many weapons do you have, if it's not a secret?

[Gevarken] Well, we already have for sure 160,000 young men who are with us, but they do not all have weapons. There are, well, some of them do have weapons and can defend themselves as far as they are able. But we do not intend to surrender weapons.

[Shashkov] The figures mentioned by the commander may give rise to doubt, but what is indisputable is that the National Army is a real and well-organized force that is to be reckoned with. And there are quite a few weapons in the hands of that force that threatens other groups, Soviet Army soldiers, and peaceful inhabitants. After all, it is not possible to maintain such a force on voluntary contributions alone.

As you have heard, the Armenian National Army does not intend to give up its weapons. Incidentally, the Supreme Soviet of Armenia, which has suspended the operation of the presidential decree on the territory of the republic, does not insist on that, either. It is typical that Vladimir Movsisyan, member of the CPSU Central Committee, and Levon Ter-Petrosyan, leader of the Armenian National Movement, elected to the post of Supreme Soviet chairman, spoke in their pre-election programs of the creation of a national army on the basis of the present armed detachments, subordinate to the Supreme Soviet. It is a complex situation, and the army remains the most real support of presidential authority in the republic.

[Major General M.S. Surkov] Today, too many weapons have already accumulated in (?their) hands, including very dangerous weapons. And the second thing is that we consider that decree [word indistinct] and we will do everything to carry it out by peaceful means, and to ensure that the peaceful population does not suffer, that innocent people do not suffer. And even those who today do have weapons, we will do everything to persuade them to give them up voluntarily, even those who have them, even those who will resist for a long time and persistently, we will persuade them until the last possibility that the weapons must be given up because to enter into an armed conflict, all the more so when that threatens danger to the life of people, is not part of the plans of our Soviet Army, not any one of those who today are serving on the territory of Armenia. [end recording]

### Armenian Official Cited on Pannational Movement

*90US1161A Yerevan KOMMUNIST in Russian 30 Jun 90 p 4*

[Report on interview with Rafael Avetisovich Kazaryan, deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, corresponding member of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences, and member of the governing body of the Armenian Pannational Movement, by correspondent M. Grigoryan; place and date of interview not given: "If You Stand Up Straight..."]

[Text] [Grigoryan] Two years ago we were witnesses to an unprecedented national unity based on the Karabakh movement. But the Artsakh problem essentially reached a deadlock. And it turns out there is no other consolidating concept. Even the problem of eliminating the aftereffects of the earthquake lacks the force to unite us.

[Kazaryan] We have no right to retreat from the Artsakh problem. I do not agree with the view that it has reached a deadlock. The fact that some are trying to run it into a

deadlock is another matter. But there is definite opposition to this, some fairly significant parliamentary counteraction. In particular, the announcement and conduct of high-level awareness and organizational activity for the elections of Armenian people's deputies in the NKAO [Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] took place with much greater intensity than occurred generally across the republic.

The most recent two to three months of the Karabakh conflict are characterized by close cooperation between the military and Azeri authorities. Attempts are being made to settle the issue by forcibly altering the demographic situation in the oblast. On the one hand we see deportation of Armenians, beginning in the north. On the other—intensive construction in Azeri villages, at the same time that such construction is impeded and delayed in every way possible in Armenian population centers.

We were forced to resort to the rather severe action of suspending the spring call-up. I do not wish to narrow this issue just to acts of violence directed towards Armenian soldiers. Our protest is broader than that. Accusations of anticonstitutional activity have been hurled against us. But in fact we have far greater justification for making accusations of violations of far more important articles and demands of the constitution—first and foremost, ensuring the safety and security of the people, lifting the NKAO blockade, restoring the oblast organs of government, etc.

With respect to the democratization of social life, I personally attach great hopes to the new parliament and, consequently, to continuation of the parliamentary struggle to achieve democratic transformations. Everything depends on what kind of parliament it will be. If it turns out to be a strong, morally sound, efficient, and decisive organism, then I believe we will significantly reinforce our positions in the struggle against the central and local bureaucracy.

I am very much alarmed at the prospect of the upcoming elections to the local soviets, and attribute exceptionally great significance to them. The rayon power structures are tied to the people in the most direct way and have a far stronger influence on them, especially in the rural rayons, than the uppermost echelons of power and social organizations. The fight for the local soviets may therefore prove to be more difficult and less effective.

If we fail to crack the resistance of the mid-level bureaucracy, practically no hope will remain for the moral rejuvenation of society. For the parliament may prove to be powerless. It may make important decisions which are not executed in the localities, or are distorted. The people will remain in a state of social defenselessness. Again there will be the possibility of illegal, criminal acts and violations of people's fundamental rights. I would very much like to see the importance of the coming struggle for the local soviets permeate the thinking of us all.

[Grigoryan] What way out do you see with respect to the present extremely tense situation in the republic?

[Kazaryan] The matter of openly combating criminal groups is being examined at the government level. The decision was made to create a Defense Council. It seems to me personally that we now need to legalize detachments of honest young people who have joined together with the aim of simply defending their people. We must attempt to unite them into some kind of militia or army structure. We must resolutely dissociate ourselves from criminal groups. If we succeed in this, we will be able to begin a more decisive struggle against criminal-anarchist elements. I stress the most important aspect—legalization of self-defense detachments. After all, criminals are committing their acts sheltered by various organizations with which they have no relationship. As a member of the governing body of the AOD [Armenian Pannational Movement], I can assure you that we ourselves are very interested in contributing to the struggle against them, and are prepared to do so.

[Grigoryan] We have been saying a great deal lately about consolidation. Indeed, this is as necessary to us as the air we breathe. But, unfortunately, not a single political force, not a single organization or movement enjoys the confidence of the people to the extent that all progressive forces will rally around it. At one time, the "Karabakh" Committee enjoyed such a mandate of confidence. But the situation has changed, and today we see more and more criticism being directed at the AOD.

Personally, when I hear the philosophy of "he who is not with us is against us," professed by many members of the movement, I am put on guard somewhat. Perhaps this is a subjective impression as seen from outside.

[Kazaryan] It would be incorrect and unobjective on my part to assert that we have acted without making mistakes, ideally, or infallibly. That would be impossible. We all joined the movement at the summons of our hearts—we were not politicians. I can only say with respect to my AOD colleagues that I have no doubts as to their honesty or sincerity, or the motives which prompted them to join the movement. This is always a consolation to me. I remember the Chinese proverb: "If you stand up straight, you need not fear that your shadow is crooked."

I believe that the impression of categorical judgments is deceptive—it was externally thrust upon us, as petty faults were blown out of proportion into positions of principle.

We should not forget that it was in the AOD that the party apparatus saw its chief rival. We witnessed how they welcomed those organizations, appearing like mushrooms following the rain, which began with a criticism of our movement—they had to declare themselves. This could not help but be reflected in public opinion. The process of losing confidence was therefore to some degree unavoidable.

In way of justification, I would like to say that we attempted on many occasions to unite some of the most active movements. There was this readiness and desire on our part. Unfortunately, they did not always meet us halfway—initial steps were often taken but things did not get off the ground. This is a greater pity since we share a common final goal. It seems to me that ambition is sometimes at work here—there are more "generals" than "soldiers." I am not very inclined to accuse my comrades-in-arms of this, but cannot rule out that "star fever" affected a few of them.

With respect to the consolidation factor, I note painfully that the problem of common national danger may be in this category. We began with Artsakh, our common anguish and the bleeding wound of all our people. But I want very much to believe that the threat of physical annihilation is not the only thing which is capable of rallying the nation.

[Grigoryan] Let us talk about your trips abroad—first to France, and now quite recently to the United States and Canada. What is your impression as to how they relate to Armenia's problems and what should we do in this regard?

[Kazaryan] My trips abroad had the aim primarily of attempting to show government circles and the public the truth of what is happening in the country and in our region. We have to own up to the fact that we overlooked quite a bit at times when our neighbors were fully alert. My status as deputy and deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet Presidium enabled me to meet with a number of political figures occupying high positions in these countries. In particular I met with several U.S. senators.

I will try to summarize in a few points what I attempted to convey to state officials, the public, the press, and international organizations such as the "Helsinki Organization," "Amnesty International," "Human Rights," and others.

Wherein lies the paradox? The foreign policy of our leadership differs substantially from its domestic policy. Whereas the former is entirely justified and welcomed by civilized countries, the latter is far from being able to be considered democratic. Today we have glasnost, but do not have perestroyka. For the present, perestroyka is manifest in the form of armed skirmishes. Glasnost is a great achievement, of course, but it is often futile. An example can be seen in Karabakh—for two years everything was told about the problem. So there would seem to be no doubts as to the only correct way to resolve it. Nonetheless, today we are in the initial situation—actually, in a worse situation than at the outset. In other words, glasnost exists but we do not see any influence or results from it.

It is entirely understandable that political figures in the West applaud the foreign policy of M.S. Gorbachev, because without their intervention the largest totalitarian empire—for decades a source of international tension—is collapsing. But in order for this source of tension to disappear entirely, it is necessary to facilitate democratic changes within the country. We are presently at a crossroads, and there is no guarantee that we will head straight for democracy and not return to totalitarianism.

For what is happening in our region contradicts all universally accepted democratic norms—and therefore reaction by the West cannot be assessed as interference in the internal affairs of another country. This should be seen as a defense of fundamental human rights, such as the right to security, protection, and self-determination.

I told them we were distressed that they had resigned themselves to accepting the situation which had developed in the region, the almost uninterrupted blockade of Artsakh and Armenia and systematic acts of violence against Armenians, without raising their voices against it.

I stated all of this at meetings, press conferences, and lectures at the Institute of Sovietology in Toronto and the "Research and National Development Institute" [name published in English transliterated into Russian] in Orleans [name as published]. Prominent American and Canadian newspapers published interviews—all 23 days I spent in North America the press was saturated with these things.

At meetings with state officials we touched on economic matters as well. I told them we were very grateful for the assistance given us by Americans, but did not want this to continue in the form of donations. That was justified in the first days following the tragedy, but now it is degrading and unworthy of our people. We want relations to be structured on a mutually beneficial basis. We require assistance through modern technology, joint enterprises, and the creation of self-contained production cycles, so that we are minimally dependent on outside shipments.

I even took the liberty of reproaching them for the relatively little aid given by the U.S. Government itself—many small European countries showed greater generosity. This embarrassed the senators and they promised to bring the matter up to the administration. Then I found out that representatives of the Armenian community abroad had raised this issue—it became known even before my departure that the assistance to Armenia would be doubled and would reach $10 million.

[Grigoryan] You were in the United States when debate was going on in the Senate on the subject of the Armenian genocide?

[Kazaryan] Immediately thereafter. And I began every conversation with words of gratitude that, after almost 75 years of universal silence on this tremendous disaster to my people, they not only raised the issue but conducted debate on it for four days.

I would like to note with pleasure that senators have again begun talking in recent days about human rights violations and undemocratic behavior on the part of the central government with respect to Nagorno-Karabakh. They include senators with whom I met—Senators Pell, E. Kennedy, Simon, Owens, and Mitchell.

[Grigoryan] Tell us about your meetings with representatives of the Armenian community abroad. Are there any specific economic results of your trips?

[Kazaryan] The Armenian community of the United States and Canada organized my trip well and did everything to ensure that my stay was maximally effective. They immediately assigned highly qualified assistants to me and I cannot fail to mention their names—they are Albany University Professor Lucy Danielian, Doctor Tom Samuelian from Harvard, Zorian Institute director Zhirayr Liparitian and his colleagues in Boston, Los Angeles, New York, and Canada, the Armenian Assembly of America, which arranged my meetings with senators and congressmen. Van Grigorian was very helpful in this regard. The Association of Armenian Scientists of America greeted me in Los Angeles, and businessman Gurgen Sarkisian took care of me in Canada.

And now a few words about a problem which deserves separate mention.

Our exchange of information with the Armenian community abroad is entirely disorganized. We assist them poorly in learning the truth about what is happening with us. We must provide them with prompt and relevant information for the English-language press close to government circles.

Interest in us has cooled down of course. Today the Baltic region is the sensation at the center of attention. But if they come to find out the truth of what is going on here, it will be different. I will give an example.

On 24 April in Boston we were afforded the use of their beautiful city hall so that Armenians could commemorate the genocide day of mourning. The mother of M. Dukakis spoke in her son's name, expressing sympathy to our people in the name of the Greek people—at the same time that General Safonov was using truncheons to break up a memorial gathering in Stepanakert. Now isn't that absurd?

With respect to the results of my trip, I will mention two of the most important in my view. I met with some highly qualified Armenian engineers, in particular with Asatur Adzhian, vice president of the Association of Armenian Scientists. We came to a very important agreement regarding research on earthquake-proofing all the buildings in Yerevan. Specialists and equipment will be sent from the United States. Armenian businessmen from the Ramkavarov Party agreed to finance the research.

In addition, groups will be organized with respect to development of Armenia's power engineering. These projects, carried out by scientists, will be financed by Louise Simon. Incidentally, she has financed the drawing-up and has already obtained the program of agricultural development of the republic. Scientists believe that, if the work is performed properly, in five to seven years we will be able to provide our own agricultural production.

Unfortunately, we had to listen to just reproach for a lack of efficiency on the part of our leadership in organizing cooperation with the Armenian community abroad. And a disappointing instance such as this: When Madame Simon managed to secure the participation of six of our young people in accelerated management courses, a few days later—after receiving their grant aid—the "selectees," the "hope of the nation," stopped attending courses....

[Grigoryan] I have a question for you in your capacity as deputy chairman of the Presidium of the republic Supreme Soviet. Our parliament has appealed repeatedly to the USSR Supreme Soviet on the most diverse matters. And the response—silence. How should relations be structured between the republic and Union parliaments? This question is especially important in connection with the need for renewal of the federation.

[Kazaryan] Indeed, all our appeals to the Union parliament have thus far had no result. I therefore believe that, in both the parliamentary struggle and the national-liberation movement, we must draw up such a strategy and such tactics so that following every protest or appeal, there is some kind of action to which the center will be forced to pay attention.

In this regard, such actions must be taken on the governmental level. Thus, we will be able first of all to expand and consolidate the sovereignty of the republic, and secondly, compel the center to deal with us. The most recent example is suspension of the spring call-up. I have already spoken about this—it is a parliamentary act. According to Article 75, if a certain law or ukase contradicts republic interests, we have the right not to apply it.

Unfortunately, the situation in the republic has sharply deteriorated recently. Following the tragic events of 27 May, amazingly accurately "predicted" by the central mass media, a widespread campaign of anti-Armenian hysteria was launched—glaringly inappropriate with respect to the events, if compared with the reaction to everything which has taken place in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] in recent months. The internal troops command in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast has abandoned restraint still more. Things have reached the point of tanks firing at the homes of peaceful residents, arrests of deputies and a member of the Presidium of the Armenian SSR Supreme Soviet, forced installation of Baku emissaries in the soviet and party organs of local power. Of course, none of this would be possible without approval of the central

authorities. There is open cynicism—the USSR communications minister accuses Armenia of the blockade! It turns out we are interested in seeing to it that construction materials never reach the disaster zone, that the republic remain without fuel, etc. Unfortunately, the minister denied incidents of stripping freight cars and assembled house kits, pouring water into cement, damage to construction materials headed for Armenia, and other barbarous acts which have taken place on the Azeri railroad.

In such a situation, it is particularly critical that the task of informational and parliamentary opposition be pursued. But for this it is necessary to convene a session of the republic Supreme Soviet as quickly as possible. I therefore wish to appeal to our people with an urgent request that they treat the coming repeat elections scheduled for 15 July with the greatest responsibility.

[Grigoryan] We have a great number of problems and could talk about them endlessly. Rafael Avetisovich, are you optimistic about the future? Do we have a realistic basis for optimism?

[Kazaryan] How can you live without optimism? I feel we are facing difficult days, a long and—alas!—not bloodless struggle. One thing I know—there is no way our people can retreat, and therefore we can only move forward. God grant my people endurance and perseverance. We must consolidate—and for this we need a dominating force the people will believe in, and against which all other forces and structures will prove ineffective. Whether this is the parliament or a people's movement, it is important to get a mandate of confidence from the people. If we attain such a center of consolidation our chances of success will increase immeasurably.

### Continuing Armed Attacks in Armenia, Estonia

*PM0808205190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 8 Aug 90 Second Edition p 6*

[TASS report: "Armed Opposition"]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Aug—During the past 24 hours, 138 units of firearms have been voluntarily handed in in the country. This includes 61 in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic], 44 in Belorussia, and 22 in the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] and other republics, the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] press center has reported.

At the moment there is no information about the handing in of weapons in Armenia. In that republic attacks by armed extremists with the aim of seizing weapons are not ceasing. Thus a group of armed people broke into the building of the Yekhegnadzorskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Department building 6 August and seized three pistols. The weapons were successfully recovered that same day. There was a shootout using automatic weapons between the "Armenian National Army" and "Tigran the Great" groupings 3 August on Marx Street in Yerevan. At the same time around 40 armed thugs carried out a pogrom in the KGB rayon headquarters building in Araratskiy Rayon and hijacked two cars.

And in the Estonian village of Yagava 5 August an unknown criminal attacked a military school student and stole a submachinegun with 90 cartridges, shot him four times, mortally wounding him, and disappeared with the weapons. An investigation is being conducted.

Yes, shooting is continuing in Armenia as before. And shots can be heard not just on the Azerbaijani border, but also many kilometers away from it—in Ararat, Artashat, in the republic's capital, and in remote villages in Armenia itself....

And in the same spirit attacks, seizures of weapons, vehicle thefts, marauding, and killing occur alternately.... What noble "liberating" aims could be used to explain the killing of the director of a rest home in Ashtarakskiy Rayon 9 June by thugs, for refusing to provide them with a cottage to stay in?

Today an increasing number of people in the republic understand that a terrible force is growing here, which is uniting ordinary criminals who are laying their hands on weapons on the pretext of fine words about the protection of sovereignty and the need to defend borders. And bandits recognize no national distinctions.

The growing confrontation between various armed "formations" serves as confirmation of this. In Artashatskiy Rayon, for example, Khudaverdyan's combat group captured a thug from Markaryan's group and also killed his nine-year-old nephew. In revenge for these actions, the supporters of Markaryan's group organized the killing of Khudaverdyan and three of his relatives and they also wounded his 11-year-old son using firearms. Altogether around 300 thugs took part in the conflict.

Speaking at a rally in Yerevan 27 April A. Manucharyan, one of the leaders of the Armenian Pannational Movement, stated that the Armenian liberation movement must become a serious political force. Like in the Baltic republics. And at the same time this movement must represent a threat in the armed sense.

A threat to whom? To the soldiers and the militia who are trying to stabilize the passions that have flared up, which are no joke, and can result in death? To their own people, who are now the hostages of countless bands and groupings, armed to the teeth?

Evidently the time for answers to these questions is long overdue. Delay means new victims.

### Congress Issues Appeal on Upcoming Elections

*NC0708193590 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 0440 GMT 2 Aug 90*

[From the republican press review]

[Text] The republic's newspapers today published an appeal issued by the delegates to the 32d Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress to the members of the electorate, the people of Azerbaijan, and the republic's workers. The appeal said:

We call on all Communists and noncommunists to participate actively in the preparations for the elections and in the elections themselves. In the upcoming elections, the Azerbaijan Communist Party will cooperate with the soviets, the trade unions, the Leninist Communist Youth League, and all progressive organizations and movements to realize the parliamentary [word indistinct] in the democratic bloc. The congress urges young voters not to get carried away by emotional and ill-considered calls. Furthermore, the congress also urges them to support the truthful and conscientious individuals—the true patriots—who are capable of making worthy contributions to the work being carried out to strengthen our republic in the economic and political fields.

The Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress has appealed to all workers in the scientific and cultural fields, including the fine arts, and to all the republic's intellectuals, who make up one of the steadfast forces of the nation and who are the intellectual potential of the people, to urge them to take an active part in the revolutionary improvement of life and in the party's efforts to unify and strengthen society and create a cadre of [word indistinct] and industrious deputies.

During this very important political campaign on the eve of the elections for deputies to the Supreme Soviet and the local soviets of people's deputies, the delegates to the 32d Azerbaijan Communist Party Congress call on the members of the electorate and on all the republic's workers to act with maturity and approach the question of nominating and electing the cadre of deputies with a view to creating a new parliament for the republic with a high sense of responsibility. This is because the future of the restructuring course and of all the people of Azerbaijan depends on the effectiveness of this parliament.

## Azerbaijanis Urge Political Prisoners' Release

*LD0708125690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In a number of Azerbaijani towns, crowded meetings are continuing at which representatives of the Democratic Front are calling for all political prisoners to be freed, the election campaign to be halted, and a new law on elections on the basis of a multiparty system to be adopted.

## Situation in Azerbaijan's Border Rayons Detailed

*NC0808102990 Baku Domestic Service in Azeri 1730 GMT 6 Aug 90*

[Text] According to information from an AZERINFORM correspondent, the situation in the Kel'badzharskiy, Kedabekskiy, Kazakhskiy, Tauzskiy, Lachinskiy, Zangelanskiy, and Kubatlinskiy Rayons was normal on 4 and 5 August. Armed attacks from the Armenian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] were not registered. However, in order to maintain the security of the people, the USSR internal troops and local militia units continue to protect agricultural work.

Meanwhile, Mamedov, minister of internal affairs of the Nakhichevan ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic], has disclosed that the check point set up to control vehicles in the Il'ichevskiy Rayon was fired on from the [name indistinct] residential area in Armenia at 2320 on 5 August. The fire was returned and the Armenian extremists were rebuffed. No one was killed or wounded. The workers of the Nakhichevan ASSR have clearly pointed out that the obstructions set up by the government organs in the Armenian SSR against the realization of the USSR president's decree dated 25 July have made them feel uneasy.

## National Democratic Party Holds Talks With KGB

*LD0808030790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2011 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] [Announcer] A meeting between representatives of the National Democratic Party and Georgia's Committee for State Security took place today. The KGB was obligated to participate in this meeting because of the situation which has emerged in Tbilisi.

[Reporter] The picketing of the Committee for State Security building organized by the National Democratic Party is continuing for the second day in Tbilisi. This action has been supported by organizations belonging to the coordinating center of Georgia's national liberation movement. What are the demands of the pickets? In the first place they say an end to the Committee for State security's struggle against the national liberation movement. Then, with the involvement of representatives of the broad public and organizations belonging to the national liberation movement, the ability to set up a so-called elimination commission which will prepare for the abolition of Georgia's Committee for State Security. For this, say the demands of those taking part in the picketing, commission members must be given the right to inspect and study the republic KGB's archive materials. In the picket organisers' opinion, this same commission will also have to lay down the foundations for establishing an organization to protect national security following the restoration of Georgia's independence. Another demand by those taking part in the picketing: deploying special purpose troops in Georgia must not be permitted under any pretext whatsoever. [video shows

demonstrators outside building, handwritten posters stuck to and leaning against outside walls; most posters are written in Georgian; one in Russian reads "Down with the KGB," and another in English says "Red Army go home"]

### Activists Picket KGB Building

*LD0808132590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1200 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] In Tbilisi, representatives of the National Democratic Party have met and had talks with the republican KGB. Talks with the KGB—that's something new. [video shows picketing outside building]

Picketing continues for a second day outside the KGB building in Tbilisi, organized by the National Democratic Party. This action has been supported by organizations within the coordinating center of the national liberation movement of Georgia. What are the demands of the pickets?

First and foremost, they say, is halting the KGB's struggle against the national liberation movement. Then, the creation of a so-called liquidation commission to prepare for the abolition of the Georgian KGB with the involvement of the general public and the organizations within the national liberation movement. For that to be done, as the demands of the pickets say, members of the commission must be given the right to familiarize themselves with and study the archive material of the republican KGB.

This same commission should, in the view of the organizers of the picketing, lay the foundation for the creation of an organization for the safeguarding of national security following the restoration of Georgia's independence.

One more demand of the pickets: Under no pretext should entry onto Georgian territory be permitted to special forces troops.

### Three Drafts of Georgian Elections Law Published

*LD0908121990 Moscow TASS in English 1209 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Paata Archvadze]

[Text] Tbilisi August 9 TASS—Three draft projects on elections to the Georgian parliament have been published in Tbilisi as the result of the agreement reached between the authorities and the opposition.

The opposition has gained the right to publish its project.

The law on elections is to be adopted by a session of the Georgian Supreme Soviet, opening on August 17.

Secretary of Georgia's Central Election Commission Tariel Kululashvili told TASS that the drafts had reflected different approaches to a new parliament.

"The official draft prepared by the Presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet is based on the first-past-the-post system. The alternative variant, drawn up by opposition parties and movements, is based on a proportional representation of parties in a future parliament. The third project "is a synthesis of the first and second variants," Kululashvili said.

Opinions in Georgia are divided over the three variants.

Georgia's First Deputy Justice Minister Johny Khetsuriani said that "neither the first nor the second variant was completely satisfactory. Today, people are more aware of their leaders than their programmes. Therefore, I am for a mixed, majority-proportional and personified system. I think that the third variant is the best," he said.

Aleksandr Rusetskiy, president of the National Accord Association, calls for supporting the most democratic programme, which will allow people to advance who are capable of protecting the interests of the people and the state.

Georgian newspapers are calling for restraint to create an atmosphere for a constructive dialogue among all forces.

### Stolen Weapons Reportedly Retrieved in Georgia

*LD0808192690 Moscow TASS in English 1849 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Vladimin Yaralov]

[Text] Tbilisi August 8 TASS—The number of grave crimes in Georgia rose from 980 in the first seven months of 1989 to 1,335 in 1990. The number of murders and murder attempts, aggravated assaults and robbery with violence is on the rise. Stolen weapons are sometimes used to commit crimes. The use of weapons stolen during an attack on the Poti city department of internal affairs was identified recently. In Poti, two people were wounded, and the same weapons were used in Sochi district during a hold-up.

"We have been confiscating stolen weapons since last year," militia Colonel Grigoriy Shalamberidze, head of the criminal investigation department of the Georgian Interior Ministry, told TASS.

"Out of more than 11,00 stolen firearms, we have managed to retrieve about 8,500. Following the issue of the presidential decree, our ministry set up special headquarters with reginal subdivisions.

"Emphasis is now being laid on persuading people to hand firearms over voluntarily. In addition to militia personnel, these efforts also involve local authorities and news organisations. We seek to avoid complications. This approach yields fruit.

"In particular, two pistols, three small-bore rifles, 47 guns, three grenades, 800 grammes of explosives, and 45 units of blank weapons have been voluntarily handed over in the past two weeks. Members of socio-political associations and movements quite often voluntarily hand in weapons.

"Measures that arise from the presidential decree, banning the creation of armed groups that are not envisaged by Soviet legislation and collecting illegal weapons, will not be taken until the end of the republican parliament session," Said Giviy Gumbaridze, chairman of the presidium of the Georgian Supreme Soviet. The session is to end on August 17.

This decision was made to permit an uninterrupted nation-wide discussion of three bills on elections to the Georgian parliament and normal work of the forthcoming session, Gumbaridze said.

## Central Asia

### Dzhambul Oblast Paper Staff Threatening Strike

*PM0708151390 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Jul 90 Morning Edition p 2*

[Report by correspondent Vladimir Ardayev under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Editorial Staff Warned of Strike"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—This warning appeared in the pages of Dzhambul Oblast's newspaper ZNAMYA TRUDA. The editorial staff collective intends to protest the obkom's [oblast party committee] current methods of managing the publication.

Journalists tt a general editorial staff meeting adopted a declaration to Dzhambul Kazakh Communist Party Obkom and brought its text to their readers' notice. It says specifically that for over four months the editorial staff collective has been working in a complex moral and psychological situation, caused by a series of checkups on the newspaper's activity by oblast and republic commissions. They have, as suggested by the editorial staff, only one purpose—by hook or by crook to get rid of the newspaper's editor M. Sergeychik, whom A. Isakov, obkom secretary in charge of ideological questions, deems "uncontrollable."

The editorial staff collective repeatedly appealed to the leadership of the obkom and the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, but did not get any response. The declaration was then adopted, which presents a package of specific demands to the obkom about changing its management style of the press organ. If the demands are routinely ignored, the journalists, in accordance with the USSR Law on Labor Disputes and Conflicts, intend to embark on the last resort—to start a strike about which they have warned readers, asking for their support.

ZNAMYA TRUDA Editor M. Sergeychik confirmed in a conversation with me that the collective is prepared to stand up for its rights and interests vis-a-vis the publisher to the bitter end.

"Time and again we journalists have helped people defend their honor and integrity," he said. "Now it looks like the time has come for us to stand up for ourselves and for glasnost."

### Shortages Hinder Kazakhstan Quake Relief Work

*PM0808105190 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Aug 90*

[Report by A. Laptev from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Some two months have passed since the force-eight earthquake at Zaysan, East Kazakhstan, as a result of which more than 10,000 families have been rendered homeless and have to live out in the open.

[Reporter] It is true that the earthquake victims are not entirely deprived of attention. A task force to eliminate the consequences of the earthquake has been set up, and the dozens of commissions dispatched to the scene by key departments and top-level authorities have issued mountains of decisions and resolutions. Progress has been made, albeit with difficulty. Foundations for schools and children's establishments have been laid. Here and there, as you can see, the walls of future homes have gone up, and temporary accommodation has been nearly completed. But all this is not enough. It is very, very little.

Soon the rains will set in, and winter is almost upon us. Take a look, this modern building site does not differ much from the construction sites of the first few five-year plans. Manual labor compensates for the lack of construction machinery. There is a catastrophic shortage of transport facilities. And to top it all, organization is poor. Specialists who have come here from all parts of the republic have to stand around for hours at times, waiting for cement, timber, and other construction materials.

Food supplies also leave much to be desired. How can people be expected to work on empty stomachs?

[M.R. Sagdiyev, member of the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic Presidential Council] It is true that a few days ago the USSR Government adopted a resolution on providing assistance. But so far all this remains only on paper. Actual assistance in the provision of timber and other construction materials is yet to materialize. Time is pressing, and people are demanding from us that we speed up this work. So far Kazakhstan has been left to its own devices. We have always been internationalists in this respect, and when disasters occurred in Armenia and elsewhere we always were the first to respond. Now that disaster has struck in East Kazakhstan, insufficient steps have been taken by the country's government to cope with this emergency.

[Announcer] And while this silence and indifference to other people's troubles continues, nature again made its terrible force felt. Another earthquake took place in East Kazakhstan at 1315 hours Moscow time 3 August. The epicenter was located at Okol village, 20 km southeast of Lake Zaysan. Force six to seven was registered at the epicenter, force four at Ust-Kamenogorsk and Semipalatinsk, and force two to three at Pavlodar and Taldy-Kurgan. According to preliminary information, some 500 houses have been destroyed, eight people have been injured, no one has died.

### Tajik Peasants' Union Prepares for Congress

*LD0908075590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0130 GMT 9 Aug 90*

[Text] The first session of the organizing committee for holding the inaugural congress of the Peasants' Union of Tajikistan has taken place in Dushanbe. It discussed the documents that are to be adopted by delegates to the congress and among which there are the regulations of the republic's Peasants' Union. It has been decided to submit the regulations for nationwide discussion.

### Turkmen Minister Discusses Seizure of Weapons

*LD0808214790 Moscow TASS in English 2121 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Nikolay Isayev]

[Text] Ashkhabad August 9 TASS—"Turkmen Interior Ministry staff and the executive committees of the local soviets have accomplished work to explain the demands of the decree by the USSR president, banning the formation of armed groups, not envisaged by the USSR legislation, and authorising the seizure of weapons in the "event of their unlawful possession," Turkmen Interior Minister Vasiliy Grinin told TASS.

"They heightened attention to how firearms are kept in organisations and institutions. Simultaneously, as agreed with the command of the armed forces, they began an inspection of weapons and ammunition depots in army units deployed on Turkmen territory. Another 53 unregistered firearms, (?seized) or voluntarily turned in by the population, were added to 620 such arms already confiscated since the beginning of the year.

"At the same time, people continue to possess about 20,000 unregistered firearms, according to militia. Mindful of this fact and also that organisational and preparatory measures to "fulfil the decree took about ten days, the government of the republic intends to approach the USSR president with the request to extend the term for the decree's operation," Grinin said.

### Uzbek, Kirghiz Writers Discuss Osh Events

*90US1238A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Aug 90 Second Edition p 3*

[Discussion by Kirghiz and Uzbek writers and journalists, including Murad Mukhammad-Dost, writer; Andilbek Kaipbergenov, PRAVDA correspondent for the Uzbek SSR; Tolegen Kasymbekov, writer and Kirghiz SSR people's deputy; and Yuriy Razgulayev, PRAVDA correspondent for the Kirghiz SSR and republic people's deputy; place and date not given: "We Have One Land. The Tragic Events in Osh Oblast: Sources and Causes"]

[Text] *A group of writers and journalists from the two republics went through the cities, auls, and kishlaks in the oblast, which had not yet cooled down from the fires. They met people of various nationalities, shepherds and peasants, city dwellers, party members, soviet workers, and military servicemen. And there was a discussion in which the following participated: writer Murad Mukhammad-Dost (Uzbekistan); Adilbek Kaipbergenov, PRAVDA correspondent for the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic]; Tolegen Kasymbekov, writer and Kirghiz SSR people's deputy; and Yuriy Razgulyayev, PRAVDA correspondent for the Kirghiz SSR, republic people's deputy.*

[The following paragraph appears in a box in the center of the page] Another link has been added to the infinite and tragic chain of interethnic conflicts this summer: On 4 June bloody mass disturbances began in the Kirghiz city of Osh, resulting in more than 200 deaths, and more than a thousand people seriously injured. The black wing of fratricidal war hung over one of the most densely populated regions of the country.

#### The Field of Discord

[Razgulyayev] The chronicle of the sad events in Osh has been reported more than once both in the press and on television. Let me just recall that the fire began to smolder long before 4 June, when on a field of the kolkhoz [collective farm] imeni Lenin, in Kara-Suyskiy Rayon, the first shots were heard and the first blood was shed.

The immediate cause was the desire of a group of Kirghiz youth to seize a plot of land belonging to the kolkhoz, which had a mainly Uzbek population, in order to build individual homes. The step was ill-considered and extremely dangerous. Because, incited by activists of the informal society "Osh Aymagy" ("Osh Land"), they decided to replace the Soviet authorities with their own absolute power. And in the second place, whether they intended to or not, they thus encroached upon the interests of other groups of the population, especially Uzbeks, whose need for improved housing was no less than that of the Kirghiz chaps.

[Kasymbekov] Of course one could accuse the youth of "seizure." But there is also another side to the question. These were mainly young people who had come to the oblast center from rural areas. Some of them were students, some were working. They found a place for themselves and set themselves up as a family, but they had nowhere to live. And there was no hope for the next few years. For in the city of Osh, with its 200,000 inhabitants, the waiting list for apartments has more than 12,000 names on it.

And things are no better for the Uzbek families, even those who own their own homes. Sometimes 15 to 20 people live under one roof, and the amount of land is the same for all—0.07 hectares. All of them had knocked on the doors of the authorities but they did not even receive promises of improving housing conditions...

[Mukhammad-Dost] I listen to my Kirghiz friends and I recall the events in Fergana. The apparent cause there was similar or perhaps even more trivial: "a pail of strawberries." But all we had to do was dig deeper to see all the socioeconomic deficiencies—unemployment, especially among youth, lack of land, difficulties with housing.

[Kaipbergenov] Even the beginnings of the conflicts coincide. On 4 June—the same day. But let us look at this problem from a broader perspective. As in other regions, even representatives of ethnic groups that did not participate in the interethnic conflicts are leaving the oblast. The people do not feel that they have a guarantee that what happened will not be repeated. I am told that in Osh today it is a great problem to find a railroad container in order to leave town.

**Unlearned Lessons**

[Razgulyayev] I recall an almost two-hour conversation with A. Dzhumagulov, chairman of the Kirghiz SSR Council of Ministers, who was involved in the hottest parts of the conflict from the very beginning, and even now it is easier to find him in Uzgen than in his Frunze office. And listening to A. Dzhumagulov, the idea automatically came to me that the government had done everything it could to prevent the bloody conflict.

[Kasymbekov] Yes, and R. Tazhibayev, the former chief of the Osh internal affairs administration, and A. Sutalinov, the republic's deputy minister of internal affairs, repeatedly raised the question of promptly declaring a state of emergency in Osh. They and many other leaders are still convinced that if this suggestion had been adopted promptly it would have been possible to avoid many deaths. After this is there any point in discussing how many meetings and conversations have been held with "extremists," how many variants have been suggested for solving the problem of "Osh Aymagy"? In any case the result is negative.

[Razgulyayev] I think we should say it even more strongly: The ill-considered actions of certain leaders of the oblast and the city of Osh simply incited the young people to lawlessness. This is no secret to anyone who lives in the city. Here on every corner people are talking about how Zh. Bekbolotov, the (former) chairman of the oblast ispolkom [executive committee], put pressure on the kolkhoz imeni Lenin by demanding that they satisfy the ultimatum of the "informals." And when the kolkhoz board refused, the local soviet leader rudely ignored the opinion of the legitimate owner of the land and made his own decision. And what about the Osh City Ispolkom, whose duty it is to be on guard for social justice? Even at that time it was extremely clear that the "Osh Aymagy" was pursuing only its own selfish group goals and that the demands of the Kirghiz youth clearly encroached upon the interests of representatives of other nationalities, and still the city authorities did everything they could to create a "most favored nation" status for them. An office, a telephone, a car, release of the leaders from work.

But one cannot remain silent about the fact that the heat of passions was also stirred up by the Uzbek informals society "Adolat." For its members were the ones who organized the noisy, unsanctioned rallies and advanced the ultimatums and demands for autonomy. Party workers were unable to neutralize their destructive influence.

[Kasymbekov] I shall go further and say that there was a certain amount of dishonesty here. For there were signs of an unfavorable situation in the region before this. All one need do is recall last year's incident in Uzgen...

[Razgulyayev] Uzbeks comprise more than one-fourth of the population in Osh Oblast but until recently they comprised only four percent of the leaders in the party organs. In Uzgen, for example, the ratio between the Uzbeks and the Kirghiz is 35,000 to 5,000, but among leaders the picture is the opposite, especially in the militia. I understand that the figures cannot be absolutized. But if you add this to the fierce nationalism and the corruptness of many of the "guards of order," you can understand the desire of many Osh residents to arm themselves and protect their houses and their very lives with their own forces.

[Kasymbekov] The "informals" have become the most desired guests in all the offices. With the old oblast leadership, that is, last year, the "Osh Aymagy" was kept in check, their program and regulations were not registered, and their demands were not considered. When the new leader of the oblast soviet, U. Sydykov, and the chairman of the oblast ispolkom, Zh. Bekbolotov, came to power, the picture immediately changed. They addressed the problems of the homeless Kirghiz youth.

The "fathers" of the oblast and city should roll up their sleeves and get down to the development of the construction industry and accelerated construction of housing. But instead of this they took the path of playing for personal gain. First they gave in to one demand of "Osh Aymagy" and then to another; new demands appeared and there were more concessions. Thus they ended up at the last ultimatum—which was illegal and unfair. And even after it there were "winners" and "losers" on the bloody field. The saddest thing is that immediately after the conflict they found construction materials for the restoration of hundreds of burned houses, the construction of youth complexes is already being planned, and the apartment problem is being solved for hundreds of homeless families. If only they had done all this before 4 June!...

[Kaipbergenov] How all this reminds me of Fergana, for there too there was nobody to solve the crucial socioeconomic problems until the party organs and the soviet organs along with them were put in "check"—to use chess terminology.

[Mukhammad-Dost] Supplementing what my colleague has said, I can say that the new leadership of Uzbekistan has still drawn some conclusions from its bitter lessons. The government has taken a bold step; it has distributed 165,000 hectares of irrigated land to the peasants. More than a million families have received plots and the people now have work, products, and joy.

But take these same "informals." They are more numerous and more radical in Uzbekistan than in neighboring Kirghizia. We have tried to ban them and drive them out but these actions, as life has shown, just create more popularity for the "persecuted." Then another tactic was chosen—staying ahead of them.

[Kasymbekov] In this connection I should like to raise another very important issue. During the rallies that preceded the confrontation, the Uzbek population of Osh Oblast and the "Adolat" society advanced a number of demands, among which was the question of creating their own autonomy here. They see in this conditions for the development of their native language and a certain guarantee of social protection. But will a change in the borders and the administrative structure draw us into another endless chain of quarrels and disputes?

[Mukhammad-Dost] I fully share your concern. And if you will recall, the government of Uzbekistan immediately, precisely in keeping with the declaration of the leaders of the Central Asian republics and Kazakhstan signed recently in Alma-Ata, made it plain: Local party and soviet organs and the republic leaders are doing everything possible to make sure that interethnic conflicts do not grow into interrepublic ones as, apparently, some people wish them to. Here it was taken into account that more than 170,000 Kirghiz have lived in Uzbekistan from time immemorial. Of course we must not ignore human sorrow. Flour, warm clothing, and construction materials are regularly sent from the neighboring oblasts of Uzbekistan to the suffering regions. But we must not change the borders and nobody intends to do this. On the contrary, we must develop cooperation and mutual assistance between the republics in such a way that this border is simply an arbitrary line on the map.

[Kaipbergenov] Again I recall our trips through the oblast and meetings in the refugee camps. Of course the sadness has not yet left the people's hearts. But this makes the first difficult steps, the first signs of what we now call "prewar" life, even more valuable. They are to be seen along the road to Uzgen when you meet people working in the fields belonging to the villages. True, frequently they are still being guarded by soldiers or the militia.

[Razgulyayev] But still during 15-17 June the situation in the oblast was dangerously aggravated again.

[Kasymbekov] Let us analyze at least one of these confrontations. First there is usually a rally and demands are put forth. There is always some reason for this. But recently more and more frequently we have heard demands to find and punish the guilty parties. One of the leaders goes out to the crowd and explains: An investigation is being conducted, this takes a very large amount of work, and there are tens of thousands of registered cases just of criminal episodes. After this the people usually disperse. But soon some of them return with sticks and stones, and sometimes with Molotov cocktails.

What makes the mood of the people and the direction of their activity change this way? In my opinion, our ideologists and propagandists have learned well how to speak in the halls, at conferences, and in the neighborhoods, but you will never find them in the residential quarters. Their words cannot be heard there and, in my opinion, it is precisely there that policy is being made today, it is there that the moods of the people are formed. So who is educating our youth and adolescents behind the thick fences? Who puts the sharpened pieces of steel and sometimes a sawed-off shotgun in their hands? The self-proclaimed mullah, the criminal, the extremist thirsting for political power? At this point nobody can answer these questions.

[Mukhammad-Dost] Taking all of our past experience into account, I am very pessimistic about our hopes of seeing a large-scale organizer or the coordinators of all the disturbances on the defendants' bench.

[Razgulyayev] I would like to believe that in Osh things will be different. But I recall a long conversation with a senior investigator for especially important cases under the USSR, Procurator General V. Kalinichenko. "We are moving more and more rapidly in this escalation of violence," he stated bitterly.

But the investigator was reluctant to enter into discussions with the instigators: "We should be taking our thousands of cases to court, their number is simply getting out of hand."

**Rise Up Before the People!**

[Kaipbergenov] To speak in official terms, many of the guilty parties have already been punished. The chairman of the oblast ispolkom, Zh. Bekbolotov, and the chief of the oblast internal affairs administration, R. Tazhibayev, have been fired from their positions. The first secretaries of the Osh Gorkom [city party committee], A. Sydykov, the Kara-Suyskiy Raykom [rayon party committee], K. Uzakov, and the Uzgenskiy Raykom, Zh. Asanov, have been removed. Many other leaders of soviet organs have also left their positions.

[Razgulyayev] But here is what alarms us. Zh. Bekbolotov and R. Tazhikbayev were removed, as they say, "at

the demand of the crowd," after aggressive rallies involving thousands. All of the aforementioned first secretaries had been elected as members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kirghizia not long before they were removed, but after the tragic events, and if this is a punishment, what is it you would call being "sheltered from responsibility"?

The name U. Sydykov is now being heard more and more frequently and loudly at rallies. He became first secretary of the Osh Obkom [oblast party committee] and chairman of the oblast soviet quite recently, several months ago, but public opinion is stubbornly linking him to the appearance and sharp aggravation of interethnic relations.

Is this fair? The investigation, naturally, does not take up questions like these. And the events which have been flaring up all over the Union have not been given a political assessment by the republic and oblast organs.

[Kasymbekov] Speaking about punishment, the people are certainly not necessarily demanding the blood of the guilty parties. In Uzgen, for example, we were told: "Let Asanov (former first secretary of the raykom) come and face us and tell us about his affairs." Is there really anything evil or impossible in this?

And another small addition. I cannot understand why we created the Soviet of Nationalities of the USSR Supreme Soviet. As I understand it, every conflict like the ones in Osh and Fergana should be its primary concern from the first moment; there should be no more important task for the Soviet of Nationalities than making peace and quelling the conflict as quickly as possible. But the deputy commission from Moscow did not come to Osh until a month and a half later and it stayed for only a couple of days. And the republic Supreme Soviet has not yet created a commission to investigate the tragic events.

[Razgulyayev] And can we communists and deputies wait until the conflict dies down of its own accord?

[Mukhammad-Dost] But still there is hope for reconciliation. We were speaking with two women in Uzgen. The Kirghiz woman had lost her husband and the Uzbek woman, her son. Their sorrow was boundless and the tears in their eyes will not dry soon. But as mothers and wives they feel in their hearts that life can go on only in a place where peace and quiet reign. And therefore they both told us without any reservations: "Do not put a soldier in each home, our ancestors have lived here for millennia and here is where our children shall live."

[Kasymbekov] Everyone must heed these words, uttered through bitter tears. Our peoples have no other land and never will have. This means that we must sit down at the negotiating table and look for points we have in common, repent, and help one another.

## Five Uzbeks Begin Hunger Strike in Red Square

*LD0808174190 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 8 Aug 90*

[By TASS correspondent Andrey Panov]

[Text] Moscow August 8 TASS—Five Uzbeks called a hunger strike on Red Square today, saying several more residents of Osh and Tashkent would join them tomorrow.

A young tanned man wearing a multicolour robe read out a list of political demands to the Soviet Government. Among them is the demand that state-run mass media give impartial coverage to developments in Osh region, Kirghizia, which has been plagued by conflict between Kirghiz and Uzbeks since June.

As witnesses of these events, the five believe that official sources attenuate the reality. To support their statements, the strikers showed photos of ruined houses, mutiliated bodies and clandestine arms depots.

The group's protest action on Red Square demonstrates that people have lost faith in the possibility of solving thorny problems effectively and on the spot. Participants in today's fast even demand that a UN commission be set up to investigate ethnic conflicts in the USSR.

One of the Uzbek protesters told TASS about awesome social problems in Central Asia, where there is an acute shortage of housing, food and jobs. He said local authorities do nothing.

The presence among those refusing food of a young woman, the mother of four children, demonstrates the extent of despair to which these people have been driven, forgetting the commandments of the Koran, whch forbids violence against oneself. She says that she will not leave Red Square or stop the strike until all demands are met.

Such actions on the central square of the Soviet capital have become routine lately. People come here from various parts of the country to relay their grievances to all who will listen, addressing the central government, the president, Moscow public and foreign press directly.

There are Afghan war veterans, Chernobyl victims, disabled and destitute among them. By calling attention to their personal destinies, they alert one to the destiny of the country, to the plethora of problems plaguing it.

## Karakalpak Obkom Upgraded to Republic Committee

*PM0808113990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Aug 90 First Edition p 1*

[Report by correspondent A. Kaipbergenov: "Not Obkom, but Reskom"]

[Text] Nukus—The status of the oblast organization of communists of Karakalpak ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] has changed.

In accordance with the new CPSU Statutes, approved at the 28th party congress, henceforth it is renamed the Karakalpak Republic Organization of the Uzbek Communist Party. Accordingly, the obkom [oblast party committee] becomes the republic party committee [reskom]. This was announced by the obkom bureau at its latest sitting.

## New Namangan Oblast First Secretary Elected

*LD0808031490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 7 Aug 90*

[Text] One more report from Uzbekistan. An Uzbek Communist Party oblast committee plenum took place in Namangan today to examine organizational questions. Comrade Allamuradov was released from the post of first secretary and oblast CPSU Committee Bureau member in connection with his election to the post of Uzbek Council of Trade Unions chairman. Comrade (Khakimov), who has been acting (Goskopkomselkhoz) chairman of Uzbekistan, was elected to the post of Namangad Oblast CPSU Committee first secretary.